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ABSTRACT

The essays in this monograph are concerned with ways to build on the linguistic diversity found in the schools, turning to educational advantage the characteristics of the multicultural classroom. The following essays are included: (1) "Recent Trends in Bilingual Education" by V. John-Steiner and M. Cooper; (2) "Code-Switching in Spanish-English Speaking Kindergartners" by C. Genishi; (3) "Techniques for the Teaching of ESL in the Primary Grades" by L. New Levine; (4) "Dialect and Learning to Read" by J. Schwartz; (5) "Black Dialect and Reading: A First-Level Sociolinguistic Cathechism" by G. Maring; (6) "Black English and the Teaching of Spelling" by P. Groff; (7) "The Use of Street Games in Language Programs" by L. Mays; (8) "The Use of Black Rhetorical and Verbal Strategies in the Teaching of Composition" by E. Anderson; (9) "Encouraging Oral Language in the Reluctant Young Speaker" by M. Yonemura; and (10) "Participle Power--Seeing, Hearing, Writing: Composing" by R. Drdek. (JB)

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NEW YORK STATE ENGLISH COUNCIL MONOGRAPH

TEACHING THE LINGUISTICALLY DIVERSE

Edited by
Judy I. Schwartz
Queens College, CUNY

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
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NEW YORK STATE ENGLISH COUNCIL MONOGRAPHS

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INTRODUCTION

Communication is a social phenomenon. In classrooms and elsewhere, communication cannot be extricated from its social context if it is to be understood fully. The way a child's communication is received by peers and teachers has a major impact on how the child will communicate. If the child's language is considered atypical, the response may be a kind of social ostracism. That this atypical language variety may be considered equivalent linguistically to more standard varieties, does not divest it from a negative social meaning. Being linguistically different often comes to mean being inferior. Often, liguistically different children are the ones who leave school early. Their achievement in school suffers; their options narrow. Having found mostly failure and pain in school, they try to find solace elsewhere. Yet, for many of them the escape is short-lived. They discover that even outside school they continue to be stigmatized by the social constraints of their language.

Even in a democratic society founded on egalitarian principles, all varieties of a language (and, indeed, even different languages) are not considered equal. There are, instead, quite clearly defined notions of what is and what is not acceptable usage. Yet, the idea that a single, immutable version of the language (the standard version) is to be used uniformly in all social contexts is now seen as naive and inappropriate. Likewise, its polar opposite, the idea that all versions of a language are equally acceptable regardless of setting, is rejected by most. Both of these inefficient and outmoded ideas have been replaced by the concept of **communicative repertoire** which acknowledges that people have available a variety of ways of speaking (and writing) which they vary according to the requirements of the social context. The pedagogical implications of the latter position are clear. The school's function is not to replace the child's native language or dialect. The school's function is to help the child learn to communicate effectively and comfortably in as wide an array of social contexts as possible.

The essays in this monograph support the notion of linguistic diversity. Each one of them is concerned with ways in which to build on this diversity in order to extend and enhance the child's communicative repertoire. The essays cover a wide range in age because focusing on a narrow band often involves highlighting specific methodologies while obscuring the basic principles which apply across all age levels. Such principles include: An understanding of and respect for the cultural context represented by a child's particular linguistic background; an appreciation for each child's real linguistic competence; the use of each child's particular linguistic competence as the starting point for instruction; and the incorporation of the child's own language variety into instructional procedures. Although their points of reference vary, all of the papers are based on these principles.

The essays are grouped into three categories. The first three papers deal with bilingual children. John-Steiner and Cooper survey current bilingual programs in the United States, Genishi reports on an empirical investigation of code-switching in kindergartners, and Levine offers a wide assortment of practical activities to use with bilingual children in the elementary school. The next five essays are concerned with children whose primary dialect is not standard American English. Schwartz explores the question of how dialect affects learning to read, Marin defines some basic sociolinguistic terminology which is applied to black dialect and reading, and Groff presents empirical findings on the effect of black dialect on spelling, and draws implications from these findings for classroom practice. The last two papers in the dialect series describe how to incorporate dialect material into instructional plans; Mays' paper deals with the elementary school level, while Anderson's ideas apply to the secondary school. The final two papers in the monograph are concerned with children who, although linguistically diverse, are not as readily labeled as those who are called bilingual or bidialectal. Yonemura discusses the young child who is reluctant to speak in school settings, and Drdek describes some innovative creative writing techniques used with low-achieving adolescents.

I wish to express my appreciation to the New York State English Council for its support of this monograph, and to Queens College for having granted me fellowship leave to work on this and other projects.

Judy I. Schwartz

C

RECENT TRENDS IN BILINGUAL EDUCATION*

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University of New Mexico
and
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University of North Carolina

*The material in this essay was prepared pursuant to a contract with the National Institute of Education, U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

During the last decade, bilingual programs have increased dramatically in number and in scope; but there are still many problems to be resolved before the important effort at implementing cultural pluralism in the schools can be characterized as fully successful. Recent court decisions, such as those in *Lau* v. *Nichols* (1974) and *Aspira* v. *The Board of Education of New York City* (1974), have been instrumental in strengthening the political and educational foundation upon which bilingual education is built. Two other court decisions that made even stronger commitments to bilingual education came in *U.S.* v. *State of Texas et al.* (1971) and *Serna* v. *Portales* (1972). A quote from the former decision illustrates the new emphasis on pluralistic education:

> *It is the responsibility of the educational agency to provide an individualized instructional program which is compatible with (the children's) cultural and learning characteristics . . . while recognizing the cultural and linguistic pluralism of the student body and providing equal opportunity for reinforcement and expansion of that pluralism . . . (and providing) for the characteristics of the child's immediate environment in which he shall function in the future.*

The opinions expressed in these court decisions vary in terms of the model of bilingual education to be implemented, but all concur in the necessity for the development of the model.

Today, several years since federally supported bilingual programs were initiated, bilingual education is no longer viewed by educators as a temporary measure to help the non-English-speaking child. Bilingual education now has a chance, with the support of the courts and with widespread public approval, of becoming part of the structure of public education. Such a development would allow educators the time and resources needed to implement an educational process that is rooted in, and that reflects, this nation's cultural and linguistic diversity.

The Identification of Bilingual Children

In order to develop an effective bilingual program as mandated by the court decisions cited earlier, it is necessary to identify children in need of a bilingual approach. To this end, the definition of who is bilingual becomes an important issue; a workable definition requires the examination of the settings or domains in which two or more languages are used. In the United States a large segment of the population must spend time in two distinct speech communities—one in which a native language other than English is used and the other the mainstream in which English is relied upon. In the Southwest, for example, Navajos employed by the Bureau of Indian Affairs speak English at work and Navajo when they are with the older and more traditional members of their communities. Many individuals function effectively in two distinct speech communities and can be characterized as "true" or "balanced" bilinguals who have mastered both languages and use both with equal facility. Many more, however, participate unequally in the diverse settings of their speech communities; thier language proficiencies reflect greater fluency in the home and religions domains, for example, than in the work and school domains.

Children whose home language is Spanish or Portuguese or Navajo will be exposed to the English language to some extent through television in this country, but their proficiencies in English are likely to be limited. It is children such as these—children whose dominant language at the time of school entrance has not been English—who have been the primary focus of bilingual education in the last decade. In the past, non-English-speaking students acquired two languages sequentially: first the non-English "home" language and then the English "school" language. The "home" language, unused and unstudied in the schools, tended to remain undeveloped. Today in one context of bilingual education and as a function of broadening social contacts with English-speaking adults and children, the students both acquire and develop two languages with the purpose of using them habitually in diverse settings. (A few children have already acquired two languages simultaneously in their preschool years. In these instances both languages are usually spoken in the home.)

The extent to which an individual can become a "true" or "balanced" bilingual is dependent upon a broad range of variables. According to Lewis (1975), attitudes toward the languages and cultures in contact are of particular importance in the dynamics of bilingualism. To facilitate going beyond the most frequently encountered pattern of individuals who are dominant in one language and fluent in another, optimal conditions of learning and practice are neeeded. Most bilingual individuals show traces of interference, or, in Weinreich's (1953) terms, instances of deviation from the norms of language which occur in the speech of bilinguals as a result of their familiarity with more than one language. Consequently, bilinguals sometimes suffer from implicit or explicit social criticisms, even rejection. In order to avoid any further rejection, such persons choose to use their weaker language only when necessary. Thus, social attitudes make it difficult to discover whether larger numbers of people are actually capable of becoming balanced bilinguals. The finding that at present most bilingual speakers do not reach equal levels of proficiency in their two languages has been reported in other countries as well as here (Macnamara, 1967).

Definitions and descriptions of bilingualism are difficult and complex tasks, as Padilla and Liebman (in press) have written. Such definitions must be based upon psychological, linguistic and sociological grounds and would have to include information about the speaker form each of these parameters. As in all language acquisition settings, societal variables need to be considered when assessing language competence.

Concepts of Bilingual and Bicultural Education

In its most basic sense, bilingual education consists of teaching and learning occurring in and through two languages. In discussing a definition of bilingual education, Willink (1973) expands this basic concept by stating that all of the languages being used in a particular classroom or school to teach content objectives are themselves further "developed" through this educational experience. The optimal outcome of such an approach to bilingual education is that the learner achieves the mastery of listening, speaking, reading and writing skills in all (both) the languages of instruction.

Bilingual programs currently in existence vary greatly. At one end of the continuum is the widely used **transitional model** wherein instruction is conducted in both languages for the first three years of schooling, but in the third year instructors make the transition to a sole reliance upon English as the teaching language (Gaarder, 1970). (This educational model is implicit in the *Lau* decision cited earlier as well as in the Transitional Bilingual Education Act enacted by the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.) Most bilingual programs in this country are of the transitional type.

Currently attempts are being made to lengthen exposure to bilingualism by making it available at higher grade levels. The Albuquerque (New Mexico) Public Schools offer a good example of the expansion which is taking place. There are at present bilingual programs in 22 schools from kindergarten through 6th grade; in addition, one junior high school began such a program in 1975. Eventually the Board of Education hopes to offer bilingual education through the high school level. A similar trend can be found in New York City, where a number of junior high schools are currently offering bilingual programs. The implementation of high school and college level instruction is planned as well. The limited availability of upper-level bilingual programs is due, in part, to the sparcity of curriculum materials at this level.

At the other end of the continuum from the transitional model is **reciprocal bilingualism,** where children of the mainstream are exposed to instruction in two languages in their early school years. This is an important development with wide-ranging implications for the future of bilingual education and cultural pluralism in the schools. Two communities with vastly different economic and educational characteristics have chosen to use the reciprocal or two-way approach in their schools. The first bilingual school in New York City, P.S. 25 in the Bronx, located in a predominantly low-income Puerto Rican neighborhood, has successfully developed a two-way bilingual program. The children there have varied opportunities to develop their dominant as well as their weak languages with each other and with their teachers and through many well-planned learning experiences. While they learn to speak in both tongues, they learn to read in their dominant language.

A different example of two-way bilingualism occurs in the small, upper-middle-class community of Los Alamos, New Mexico. In this district, English-dominant children in kindergarten and first grade are being taught in Spanish as well as in their native tongue. Consequently, these pupils now have the opportunity to learn a second language—one that is widely used in the Southwest. This effort reflects the multicultural awareness of many parents and educators in a state with cultural and linguistic diversity.

One of the hoped for outcomes of such two-way bilingual programs is the broadening of the cultural horizons of the children involved. In addition to instruction in two languages, further efforts are made in these schools to develop a multi-cultural awareness on the part of the students. In P.S. 25 an imaginative principal has assembled a small museum that deals with the cultures of Western Africa and the Caribbean Islands and some of the cultures of the North American continent. Here children have a chance to learn the history of their own people as well as that of peers whose national origins differ from their own.

While the emphasis on biculturalism in the schools has long been advocated, it is only recently that innovative approaches have been made. A caricature of a bicultural approach was the old practice of having in a classroom an "Indian corner," a small area for the exhibition of artifacts of American Indian culture (i.e., outdoor ovens, weaving looms, and feathered Indian dolls.) The difference between the new children's museum in the Bronx and the old "Indian corner" is that the latter reflects only the most superficial familiarity with the traditions of American Indians, while the former is an example of respectful and scholarly approaches to the various cultures represented.

The stereotypic representations of minorities which have been so prevalent in the mass media have been obstacles to the effective development of bicultural awareness and curriculum planning. Though we do not understand all the difficulties inherent in the development of a bicultural curriculum, it has been noted by Kjolseth (1973) and Gaarder (1970) that the cultural component in many programs is superficial. The importance of learning about one's own culture in a realistic manner is highlighted by the findings of Alvarez and Ramirez (1970), Ramirez *et al.* (1972), and Ramirez and Castenada (1974). These studies have shown that self-esteem is positively affected by curriculum approaches that emphasize ethnic heritages. Thus, a truly effective program requires the integration of the cultural and linguistic diversity of the communities from which the students have been drawn.

Bilingual Parents and Bilingual Schools

A bilingual and bicultural program can only be successful if it has the full and energetic participation of the parents and other members of the community that it serves. This essential bond between the school and community has been recognized from the inception of bilingual education. Nevertheless, the large majority of programs currently in existence lack effective parental participation. There are exceptions. When parents have a genuine voice in decision-making, they participate. When teachers are genuinely eager to learn from and work with parents, they participate. In some of the schools we have visited, parents have been instrumental in developing a culturally-relevant curriculum: the stories, art work, songs, photographs, and exhibits that they have brought to the classrooms, or the opportunities within their communities that they have made available to the schools have been the basis for exciting approaches to culture. In addition, some parents have modeled for the teacher communicative and instructional styles rooted in their own language and tradition.

A study that illustrates contrasting communicative styles is that of Phillips (1970) who worked with Warm Springs Indian children in central Oregon. She describes the conflict experienced by these children as they moved from their community to the school, with its Anglo-American traditions of social interaction. She found that Indian children failed to participate verbally in classroom interaction because the social conditions for participation to which they had become accustomed in the Indian community were lacking. The structure of the Indian social activities to which children were early exposed outside the home was considerably different from that found in the school setting. One of the salient properties of the Warm Springs social activities was that these activities were community-wide, or open to all Warm Springs Indians. In addition, there was no single individual directing and controlling all activity. Leadership was based upon a particular individual's choice to follow another. There was no sharp distinction between audience and performer as each individual chose for him/herself the degree of participation in any activity.

The setting of the public schools, therefore, became a new and different experience for the Warm Springs children. They were unaccustomed to the notion of a single individual being structurally set apart from all others, in anything other than an observer role, and yet still a part of the group organization. Consequently, these Indian students showed little interest in initiating interaction with the teacher in activities involving other students.

The classroom, where the teacher was the only authority directing all activities, was a striking contrast to the home setting where many people were involved in determining the development and structure of an event. Further, the teacher was not the leader by the student's choice, as would have been the case in their own societal framework. This structural difference helps to account for the Indian children's frequent indifference to the directions, orders, and requests for compliance with classroom social rules which the teacher issued.

The type of bilingual education model to be used in a community should be dependent upon the parents' own patterned uses of two languages. But there is little systematically collected information about **diglossia** (or the stable use of two languages and/or dialects in a speech community) or the styles of communicative exchange prevalent in a community. Most decisions concerning an educational model to be used in a particular school are made without empirical data concerning the community's use of language varieties.

Relevant contributions to decisions about educational models occur most frequently in small communitites or in communities where a school board actually has the power to implement its decisions. For example, the elected school board at Rough Rock Demonstration School on the Navajo Reservation convinced the administrators of the school to change from a transitional model of bilingual education to a two-way model in which both languages are used for instruction (John and Horner, 1971). Within small communities the link between parents and schools is much easier to develop and sustain than it is in larger cities. The possibilities for cooperation among educational personnel and parents in smaller settings may be contributory to the relatively greater effectiveness of compensatory programs in small rather large cities (Hunt, in press).

But even in larger cities changes are taking place, in part as a reflection of court decisions that have recognized the importance of parental attitudes and wishes in regard to the use and development of native languages in the schools. In New York City, parental permission for the enrollment of children in a bilingual-bicultural program is required by the consent decree in the *Aspira* case. As a consequence of the decree, parents find themselves the targets of conflicting pressures, some of them aimed at limiting the education of their children to the traditional mainstream forms. It can only be hoped that those parents who find themselves uneasy about the choice of bilingual education for their children may view this alternative differently once it has developed some substantive successes. In communities where such pressures are absent, parents have supported the expansion of bilingual education.

Assessment

New approaches to assessing language proficiency, including language dominance, now are being developed. In contrast to traditional tests, which are based on measuring the availability of specific grammatical forms and vocabulary items in the repertoire of the speaker (for example, does the speaker know certain words?), the current focus is upon the speaker's communicative competence. The direction now being taken in language assessment includes the testing of comprehension, a characteristic of language use, as well as the testing of a broad range of language uses (Kennedy, in press).

It has long been recognized that all aspects of language skills do not develop simultaneously. Competent understanding occurs much before fluent speaking does. Unfortunately, what has been tested has not always been what is known by the students. The emphasis has been strongly on assessing English proficiency only. The very structures and settings of the tests have intimidated those taking them. Instructions have usually been given in the language being tested rather than in the native languages. At lower levels of schooling, many of the sentences in the tests have been too long for the children's attention spans, have dealt with unfamiliar experiences, and have frequently revealed ethnic biases. Even the manner in which the tests have been given has been unnatural to many children as their learning styles differ from those of the person giving the test. The new approaches to assessment are beginning to deal with the question of measuring more validly what children actually do know and how they can exhibit their knowledge.

Williams and Rivers (1972) found that when black children are given reading materials and tests in a dialect familiar to them, they perform better than when the same material is presented using standard English. In a similar vein, Hoover (1973) suggests that vocabulary tests should be tailored to the experiences of various ethnic groups as well as to children who might have been taught methods different from those used in the mainstream. These approaches stress the children's familiarity with the material being presented.

Because of the gap which exists between the contexts of learning and the contexts of performing (John, in press), awareness of the distinctions between the various domains in which a child performs is necessary. All behaviors do not occur from and within the same frameworks. For example, the language varieties used in school and home differ greatly, as do learning and teaching styles. Labov (1972) has shown how black children can perform verbal tasks much more fluently and with a richer and wider-ranged means of expression when being interviewed in their own neighborhood and with peers rather than in a classroom setting.

An additional focus of current evaluative processes is upon the cognitive aspects of language development, including determining the conceptual framework from which a child processes knowledge. (For example, in the past much attention has been paid to whether the child knows the word **inch**, rather than to the child's understanding of the concept of size.) Most of these efforts, however, are still limited to monolingual speakers, as are, for example, the tests which have recently been devised to tap problem-solving skills in young children (see Raizen, Bobrow, *et al.*, 1974).

Among the instruments aimed at combining a cognitive and linguistic focus is the Story-Retelling task developed by John. In this procedure, during recall or retelling, a simplified internal version of the story is reexpressed in communicative language. This process is now being used increasingly with bilingual populations; as well as being successful for monitoring changes in language skills as a function of educational intervention, it can also be used as an informal task for determining language dominance.

This author found among Pueblo children not only that their ability to repeat a story increased when they told it in their native languages, but also that they became more expressive and more complex than when they told the same story in English. The new emphasis is on assessing each person's particular skills within the context of his/her own dialect or native language. Rather than using tests to label deficiencies in performance, an effort is being made to use tests as diagnostic tools.

The innovative assessment programs, however, are more likely to be used in the context of research than in the daily practice of school evaluation. The majority of bilingual programs are still opting for assessment programs that require very little time and use the more traditional evaluation model. Under the stressful conditions of heavy testing, neither the children's language dominance nor their increasing proficiencies in either of their languages can be realistically assessed. The bilingual program's level of success cannot be measured either under these circumstances. A factor adding to the difficulties of bilingual testing is the manner in which tests are actually chosen. Quite often a pragmatic and immediate choice of measures is made instead of a choice based on a thorough review of what is available and possibly more relevant to a particular program's needs.

The most comprehensive synthesis of traditional and newer approaches to language testing is revealed in the work of Lambert and Tucker (1972), who have been working with English-French bilingual children in Canada. They have used tests that focus on details of grammar, phonology, and vocabulary as well as tests that emphasize aspects of the habitual use of language for communicative purposes. In addressing themselves to the issue of language dominace, these researchers have been attempting to determine what underlies communication, rather than looking only at the tip of the communication iceberg. Recognizing the limitations of any one given test, they have relied upon an extensive catalog of instruments, each of which measures a different skill.

The Language Dominance Tests developed by Spolsky and his coworkers (1972) have communicative competence as their objective. The tests combine self reports, word-meaning tasks tapping different domains, and the description of pictures, all of which contribute to the assessment of both fluency skills and the language dominance of the child being tested. For detailed and contemporary discussion of language testing and for more complete bibliographies of available tools for assessing language abilities, see Spolsky's *Current Trends in Language Testing* (in press).

Curriculum Trends

During the early stages of bilingual education in the United States, bilingual instructional approaches were simply a mirror image of one existing curriculum, which was translated into the child's native language. Many of the books and teacher guides were imported from other countries; there was a shortage of materials for the older grades, and a desperate lack of trained teachers. In addition, perhaps a consequence of all of these limitations, there was little innovation in the programs. But in the last five years, important changes have taken place. Programs which started a decade ago are now pioneering in the development of culturally appropriate and interesting materials; a national network of Materials Development and Resource Centers is servicing new bilingual schools and aiding those with more experience.

As a result of the establishment of major bilingual training programs in the universities, the teacher shortage has lessened. There are now more capable and enthusiastic bilingual teachers who are participating in the design, evaluation, and improvement of curriculum materials. As their voices are increasingly listened to, teachers are opting for more flexible and innovative curriculum approaches in the bilingual and bicultural classrooms. The more successful efforts in this direction involve the strong support of school administrators and principals.

Luis Mercado, the principal of P.S. 75, a school in Manhattan, describes (1974) one approach to curriculum development that required the cooperation of teachers and administrators. He favors the combination of an Open Corridor Program with bilingual instruction. Mercado feels that a bilingual program must be developed with teachers who see themselves as part of a team or part of the community of people. They must share the goals of these people, speak their language and know their culture. The traditional classroom has not been such an environment.

This type of environment was created by Mercado in the Teachers and Writers Collaborative. With the aid of Title I money, writers came into the classrooms and worked with the bilingual classes. The children wrote a book in Spanish and then translated it into English, creating a book of children's writing. The translation of their work indicated that as the children became more fluent in Spanish, they were more able to master and dominate English as well. Following the production of the book, an author's party was given. Parents were in attendance and used video equipment to tape the celebration. This taping enabled the parents to become video tape techincians while their children became creative writers—all in a bilingual setting. This book of poetry was later used in other classrooms.

The educational community also needs to support and actively participate in innovative program development. Several examples from California, where bilingual education has received university, state, and local support, illustrate the effectiveness of such support. The participation of social scientists in the development and evaluation of programs such as the one in Redwood City where educators and linguists have worked in close collaboration is now well documented. Cohen (1976) concludes that in Redwood City the programs have contributed to the maintenance and effective use of Spanish among the participants because students were given formal schooling in Spanish and used that language as a vehicle for learning the subject matter. This use of the language appeared to act as an incentive for these students to continue to use Spanish regularly in a variety of social interactions. The programs directed by Manuel Ramirez III illustrate further the effectiveness of bilingual programs based on ongoing research with children, in this instance, a study of their learning style. These highly successful programs also demonstrate the important role of parent participation.*

The need for culturally and linguistically novel approaches to be used with children is felt most keenly by American Indian educators. The world view of many American Indian tribes has traditionally been ignored in schools, and American Indian children have frequently found themselves in

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**Jaramillo, Mari Luci. Personal conversation with author, March, 1976.*

severe conflict as the presentation of ideas and concepts in the school domain differed greatly from what they learned informally from their elders. Documentation of the way in which American Indian children suffer from conflict in world views, learning styles, and the languages used is presented in Cazden, John and Hymes (1972).

A concentrated effort is now being made by American Indian educators throughout the country to protect American Indian children from such conflicts. In a newly established curriculum center in Albuquerque, the work of the American Indian educators in combining classificatory approaches and traditional lore rooted in American Indian cultures with concepts habitually taught in public schools is applied to programs in social studies, biology, and mathematics. A bicultural approach to social studies is the focus of an increasing number of programs in Chicano communities as well. Through the network of the newly established dissemination centers, these innovations are likely to reach a large number of schools, a practice different from what happened at the beginning of bilingual education.

Although we have observed many bilingual classrooms that indicate that a productive shift toward distinctive bilingual curricula is taking place and that bilingual/bicultural education does offer an important model for educational pluralism in the U.S.A., nevertheless, these are fragmentary developments. They do not implement in an integrated manner proposals such as those developed by the staff of the National Puerto Rican Training and Development Institute and the outstanding group of consultants (linguists, anthropologists, psychologists, educators) interviewed by them. Several of their recommendations for effective bilingual training merit our consideration.

Because the elements which contribute to the acquisition of culture occur outside the learner's awareness, it is difficult to teach a specific culture. In order to insure that different cultures are adequately introduced to students, many aspects of the life of the groups being introduced should be incorporated into the school, its curriculum, staff and activities. The entire learning experience should be structured to reinforce the culture of the child. In addition, the language patterns used in the school setting should approximate closely the patterns used in the community. The use of peer group interaction and maximal use of bilingual instruction will help facilitate development of equal fluency and literacy in both languages. Teachers should be fluent in the language of the children being taught—both standard language and dialect—and should encourage the use of such language while encouraging progression toward the universal variant of the language. Finally, the recommendation was made to employ both homogeneous and heterogeneous grouping in teaching language while at the same time making use of peer instruction whenever it is feasible. As these recommendations by that Institute illustrate, the challenge implicit in education in two languages requires the broadest and fullest utilization of every individual within the school community, a far cry from the mere translation of commercial textbooks into the native languages.

Bilingual Education and Compensatory Education: A Perspective

The expectations which bilingual educators confront in their work today are similar to those that beset educators and social scientists in the early days of federally funded compensatory programs for the poor. Then, as now, members of low-income communities exercised pressure upon the government and upon the educational establishment, demanding that their children be offered a more humane and relevant education than had been the practice in the past.

In the ensuing debates, it has been suggested that impressive educational gains would be forthcoming once the new programs were implemented: at times, unrealistic or exaggerated claims have been made for both compensatory and bilingual education. The expectations aroused by such claims are particularly troublesome as there remains a widespread skepticism in some educational and government circles concerning the educability of low-income, non-white, non-English-speaking children. Since many educational programs are financed by Congress, and funded on a year-to-year basis, they are frequently criticized and their survival threatened if no substantial gains can be demonstrated at the end of a fiscal year. Thus the issue of program-effectiveness is an ever present concern for those who are championing innovative programs in disadvantaged communities.

The claims that accompanied the establishment of the Headstart programs in the sixties were not fully vindicated by the early results. Some of the instructional gains made by preschool children were small, others disappeared after a couple of years of regular schooling. Nevertheless, later findings demonstrate that the impact made by these preschool programs was great, and their continuation under a variety of sponsorships was assured due, in part, to the support of large numbers of teachers, paraprofessionals, parents, and others, who had had a chance to observe the educational processes in the Headstart classrooms closely. A decade later we have learned that one of the most important consequences of the preschool education in the sixties was the opportunity it provided for men and wormen to become involved directly with the education of their children. The career-ladder component of these programs resulted in many forms of on-site education and teacher-licensing programs for members of low-income communities. This outcome of Headstart was most important. It was one of the developments that will shape the learning of new generations of preschool children who are increasingly taught by adult members of their own communities.

A similar cycle of change can be identified in the area of bilingual education. The introduction of bilingual programs has widespread effects, educational results being only one set of outcomes among several. It is necessary to study the school in relation to the community it serves. Read, Spolsky and Neudorf (1975) have delineated several of the factors and effects which need to be considered at each stage of development of a bilingual program, from the planning stages through implementation. Economic, political, sociological, psychological, religious and cultural factors must be taken into account. Evaluation programs fail to consider this set of related consequences, which is why sociolinguists and others have urged that a broader view of program effectiveness be taken: this broader view would include the assessment of the educational and economic impacts of intervention upon the entire bilingual community. But the trend in current evaluative efforts in bilingual education is in the direction of a narrower set of objectives, for a uniform and standardized assessment of outcomes is now required for federally funded programs.

Some aspects of a standardized assessment program are likely to contribute to the improved quality of educational programs if they are used thoughtfully and imaginatively. The lessons of compensatory education may, however, point to another, less optimal outcome: teachers may teach with test results in mind, and may be afraid to take the time and effort necessary to develop an innovative program tailored to the needs of children in a particular community and in a particular school. Often, under conditions of financial and evaluative pressures, the first model of bilingual education is reinstituted and practiced, so that the existing curriculum is simply translated into the native language.

In some cities and states, where bilingual education has taken roots, and where it receives strong local support and funding, or is to be paid from tax-levied funds, the prospects of program continuity create a more favorable climate. In these settings, the longitudinal and organic development of bilingual education is taking place.

In some of the "pilot" schools in New York City, the effectiveness of building upon a decade of carefully monitored experience for the development of innovative programs has been shown. **Educational growth takes time;** it develops only with the wholehearted cooperation of parents and their children, who are ready to participate in a novel form of teaching and learning, and with support of an informed and committed educational leadership.

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CODE-SWITCHING IN SPANISH-ENGLISH SPEAKING KINDERGARTNERS*

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INTRODUCTION

Until recently investigators of child language have focused more on the acquisition of linguistic forms or structures than on children's use of those forms in naturalistic settings. A specific aspect of language use that has seldom been studied in bilingual or bidialectal children is **code-switching**, or the alternation of languages or dialects to convey social meaning.

When a speaker code-switches, he/she stops speaking language A and begins to speak language B, or he/she chooses one set of features of language A over another set. These features may be phonological, lexical, or syntactic. According to Blom and Gumperz (1972), there are two general kinds of code-switching, **situational** and **conversational.** Situational switching involves a change in setting, topic of conversation, or participants; the speaker's perception of the ongoing activity changes. An example is the switch from colloquial Spanish among students to English when a teacher joins the conversation. The activity has changed from an informal chat to a formal conversation.

Conversational switching, on the other hand, occures within a single activity. Two languages may be mixed in the same sentence to convey a single message. An example from a Spanish-English bilingual in a situation where English is commonly used (e.g., at work) might be:

> *I just saw Bob,* **el pobrecito** (= the poor thing). Did you know his car was stolen?

The temporary use of Spanish is a deviation from the norm that carries social meaning. Since Spanish is the language of the speaker's ethnic group, it conveys a greater feeling of sympathy than an English equivalent.

The importance of code-switching lies in its social meaning. Especially in situations of rapid cultural change (e.g., urban areas of the United States), choosing one language over another conveys social information about factors such as speakers' ethnic group membership, values, and relationships of power. The language of an ethnic minority may serve as an identity-marker to maintain a separation between the in-group and the out-group.

Although Gumperz and others (Blom and Gumperz 1972; Gumperz 1974; Gumperz and Hernández 1972) have studied rules of code-switching in adults, there are very few studies of children's code-switching. The purpose of this observational study was to describe in what ways four bilingual six-year-olds code-switched to demonstrate their social and linguistic competencies.

The research questions were:

1. Which of the following social and linguistic variables affect the children's choice between languages:
    - (a) Physical setting (classroom vs. playground)
    - (b) Activity (free play vs. teacher-structured task)

(c) Features of the addressee (age, ethnicity, linguistic ability)
(d) Topic of conversation (television show, family dog, etc.)
(e) Linguistic intention (requesting help, arguing, etc.)

2.Are the children's rules situational or conversational?

3.How do these six-year-olds' rules of code-switching differ from adults' rules?

METHOD

An ethnographic approach was used to carry out the study. The four children and their parents were viewed more as informants than as subjects so that what they said about their own speech was treated as part of the data to be analyzed and not as a source of bias. The categories used for analysis were not established ahead of time but were devleoped after studying the daily activities and conversations of the children in three settings, the kindergarten classroom, the playground, and the day care center.

The Site and the Four Children

The site of the study was a combined day care center-kindergarten for children from three to seven years of age. Twenty of the 50 children in day care also attended the affiliated kindergarten in the mornings. The center was an alternative school, established by a group of Chicano parents in the San Francisco Bay Area. The parents and staff valued the maintenance of the Spanish language and their Mexican or Latin American heritage. The educational approach was what may be called a "whole child" approach. Teachers were concerned with the cognitive, emotional, and political aspects of education. The kindergartners, for example, heard several lectures on Mexican history and politics during the period of data collection. All teachers and aides at the site were either bilingual in Spanish and English or monolingual in Spanish.

The four children studied were chosen on the basis of (1) my observations in the kindergarten and day care center over a two-month preliminary period and (2) the three kindergarten teachers' rank-ordering of the "most bilingual" kindergartners. My ratings were based on frequency of individual children's talk and frequency of code-switching, i.e., use of both Spanish and English. The criteria used, were based on **production** and not comprehension. The means of assessment was impressionistic but was justified because of a lack of formal instruments that measure language use outside of testing situations, specifically the child's talkativeness.

Three of the children were boys; one was a girl. They ranged in age from 6 years, 0 months to 6 years, 2 months. The parents of two boys and one girl were not college-educated while the parents of one boy were both graduate students. In interviews with the parents, I found that they all favored the goals of the center to maintain their children's ability to speak Spanish and actively to teach about Mexican Chicano culture.

Data Collection

Data were collected in two phases. During the first, or preliminary, phase I familiarized myself with the routines of the children and staff while they became accustomed to me and the use of a tape recorder.

During the second, or recording, phase, either the second observer or I observed, one at a time, for a one- to two-hour period and essentially followed the four children to audiotape their speech and write a brief record of concurrent behaviors. Data were collected most often in the morning, between 9:00 a.m. and 12:00 n. Although the method of recording was obtrusive, the children became accustomed to it quickly.

Our equipment consisted of a battery-run tape recorder carried in a shoulder bag with a directional microphone attached to the left wrist of the observer. This allowed us to take notes with the free hand. On the coding sheet we identified the speaker, his or her addressee, briefly described the nonlinguistic context, and wrote speech fragments so that the context noted could later be matched with recorded talk.

RESULTS

Categories of Analysis

At the end of seven weeks, we had recorded 17.5 hours of spontaneous talk during 45 hours of observation, chiefly in the kindergarten building, which was separate from the day care center. Children's speech in the playground, in a nearby park, and in the day care center was also recorded.

The major task of analysis was to identify categories of both nonlinguistic and linguistic features by (1) breaking the talk and activity into segments for analysis, and (2) setting a framework for determining situational vs. conversational switches.

Seven types of nonlinguistic activity settings or group types were isolated: (1) Whole Class, (2) Small Group-Task, (3) Small Group-Game, (4) Small Group-Dramatic Play, (5) Small Group-Free Play, (6) Small Group Eating, (7) Dyad.

All recorded segments were categorized according to linguistic units of three kinds, the **episode**, the **utterance**, and the **subepisode**. The **episode** was the main unit of analysis an interactive unit which involved:

(1) At least one of the four children talking with at least one other

person.

(2) A recorded response, either written in our notes if the response was nonverbal, or audiotaped if it was verbal.

(3) A point or topic for the interation that was clear to the coder.

(4) A recorded beginning and endpoint, usually marked by a change in participants or in topic of talk.

The episode was also the framework for differentiating between situational and conversational switches. Situational switches were defined as occurring between episodes while conversational switches occurred within episodes.

An **utterance** was a group of words, expressing a single idea or proposition, and/or was separated from the previous utterance by a pause of one second or more (adapted from Cherry, 1975).

The **subepisode** was a catch-all category for segments of talk which:

(1) Did not involve any of the four children.

(2) Involved one of the children but had no focus clear to the observer.

(3) Were generally inaudible recordings.

There was a total of 370 episodes for all four children and 187 subepisodes. Episodes lasted from a few seconds to more than half an hour, e.g., when the interactive focus was a game. Using the episode as a framework, we coded 306 examples of situational switches and only 64 conversational switches.

Variables Associated with Code-Switches

In the first research question we asked which of the five variables were associated with code-switches:

(1) Physical setting
(2) Activity
(3) Features of the listener or addressee
(4) Topic of conversation
(5) Intention of the speaker

To answer the question, we tabulated each child's episodes according to categories within each variable, e.g., physical setting was broken down into kindergarten classroom, day care center, and playground. Activity consisted of the seven group types mentioned earlier (Whole Class, Small Group-Task, etc.). Neither the physical setting nor the child's activity was associated with a preference for one language over the other.

Three different features of the addressee were analyzed: (1) age, (2) ethnicity, and (3) linguistic ability. Age (adult vs. peer) did not clearly affect language choice. Similarly, the addressee's ethnicity (Anglo vs. Chicano) did not explain code-switches. The four children did not have a simple rule such as "Speak Spanish only to people who appear to be Chicano or Latin."

The only variable that had a clear effect was one feature of the addressee: the listener's linguistic ability. By the end of the recording phase, we had assigned all staff and children to five categories, according to their ability to produce Spanish and English:

(1) Spanish monolingual (SM)
(2) Spanish dominant bilingual (SD)
(3) Balanced bilingual (BB)
(4) English dominant bilingual (ED)
(5) English monolingual (EM)

Tabulation of episodes in which the identity of the child's listener(s) was known showed that the children generally chose the listener's dominant language.

Another rule that the four children and others in the setting applied was what the second observer termed the "inertial" rule, or "Speak the language in which you were just addressed" (Chambers, 1975). In other words, it was very natural for speakers to respond in Spanish if one spoke to them in Spanish.

Differences between Adults and Children

The four children had relatively few episodes containing midepisode, or conversational, switches. Of these 64 conversational switches only a dozen contained midutterance switches. The answer to the second research question, are the children's rules conversational or situational, then, was that they were situational. One specific aspect of the situation, listener's linguistic ability, seemed to determine their language choice. Code-switches within conversations occurred primarily to accommodate the differing abilities of listeners, so that they conveyed a straightforward message, "I am speaking to X in the language he/she speaks best."

This does not mean that there was no evidence of conversational rules. The children did seem to switch within episodes to (1) specify one addressee when speaking to more than one bilingual (e.g., a SD and an ED), and (2) to quote another person's speech in the language of the quotation. These are both functions of code-switching in adult speech (Gumperz, 1974).

The major difference between adults' speech and the four children's samples was the lack of conversational code-switching. Frequent switching among adults is a device to mark the differences between one group of speakers and another. The ability to do this would depend on the speakers' awareness that they can highlight ethnic differences through choice of the appropriate language. Although one of the children, Manuel, stated that he was ethnically different (Mexican, not American) during his interview, none of the four seemed to mark this kind of awareness by code-switching.

There were examples in the data of the four children excluding other children from play areas, or "territories." Their way of excluding out-group members was direct and did not involve code-switching. For example, Gloria told a younger child from the day care center, "You can't come in!" to inform her that only kindergartners were allowed in the classroom. In addition, we did not observe bilingual children excluding monolingual speakers from conversations by switching to the language the monolingual did not speak.

EDUCATIONAL IMPLICATIONS

During the last decade there has been a major concern in American education with the development of bilingual program for children of ethnic minorities. Although there is a broad range of bilingual curricula available (Andersson and Boyer, 1970; John and Horner, 1971) an objective common to many of them is to teach English as soon as possible to the children who do not speak it.

While children are learning English, teachers often assess pupils' linguistic ability with tests of language proficiency or dominance. Test results that ideally show which language a child knows better may be used to place the child in either a bilingual or English-only program. The reliability and validity of these new measures are still undetermined so that, unavoidably, some children are wrongly assessed. Children who might benefit from bilingual programs, in which their home language is used in instruction, may be in classes taught by monolingual English speakers.

One consequence of errors in placement is that teachers who are not bilingual may describe non-English speakers as limited in both their home language and English, or as having "bilingual deficiencies." For these adults, the child who is linguistically competent is the one who speaks English well. Maintenance of the home language has, therefore, been a secondary goal in many bilingual programs.

The results reported here show that the four children of this study were not linguistically limited. They spoke both Spanish and English fluently although none had had formal instruction in either language. They had developed their competencies informally through interactions with parents, teachers, and peers. The positive result of this development and informal learning, their bilingualism, challenges the notion that Spanish-speaking children necessarily have "bilingual deficits" or that they can use only "Spanglish," a mixture of Spanish and English.

A practical implication for bilingual programs for young children is that a child's use of a language other than English should not automatically lead to his or her placement in a special program. An assessment of each child's ability to speak both languages in naturalistic situations seems an essential step in determining what kind of language training, if any, is needed.

Maintaining Spanish with English

In bilingual communitites, the decision to teach in the home language (Spanish, in this case) and/or English is a matter for parents and school personnel. The decision is best based on those groups' values.

At the site of this study, parents and staff stressed the use of Spanish. The parents of the four children were more concerned with maintaining their children's Spanish than with their acquisition of English. When parents and staff agree that linguistic and cultural maintenance is their goal, a suitable curriculum includes the consistent use of both languages.

In terms of models of bilingual education, this site was an example of a **pluralistic** one. It was initiated by members of the community, who developed the program so that it was appropriate for their ethnic group. The administration consisted of both staff members and parents, or members of the community. At the school and center there was an unusual integration of educational, cultural, and political components. The use of Spanish was an important aspect of all three. .

Yet the results of this study show that even in this optimal situation for maintaining Spanish, English was often the "language of choice." There were more ED children than SD, which often led to the use of English in play settings; the bilingual kindergarten teachers used English in conversations with each other (not with the bilingual children); at the end of the recording phase, our impression was that two of the subjects used English more than at the beginning; and, also at the end of data collection, two of the SM boys were starting to say full sentences in English.

Parental and staff preference for Spanish **with** English at this site probably will not guarantee maintenance of both languages in the future. My observations in many public schools indicate that the trend is toward the increased use of English. Shultz (1975) made a similar observation, based on his study in Boston. Fishman (1968), too,found that younger children in Jersey City, New Jersey, used English significantly more than older ones and that for all children English was associated with educaton.

Parents and staff who administer or are planning a maintenance program might consider three factors: (1) the interest and cooperation of the children's families, (2) the role of the monolingual speaker of either language to maintain both languages, and (3) the role of code-switching in a bilingual program.

Cooperation from families

The first consideration, the families' interest and cooperation, seems a necessary support for any educational program. That all four of the children's parents shared a strong commitment to bilingual-bicultural education was most likely not coincidental. Their interest probably contributed much to the development of their children's bilingualism.

Importance of monolinguals

Second, the data show that monolingual speakers at the site performed a major funtion in ensuring that the bilingual children did speak both languages. The four children used Spanish and English almost exclusively with SMs and EMs, respectively, because it was the most effective way to communicate. During structured lessons, the kindergarten teachers often acted as if they were monolingual. Their use of Spanish elicited responses primarily in Spanish from the four children. The teachers, however, used Spanish and English in informal situations or when they translated for EMs. They also encouraged SMs to begin to speak English.

Since students in most schools in this country are expected to learn English at some time, perhaps teachers in programs whose goal is to maintain two languages could plan their curriculum to benefit monolinguals and bilinguals. In day care centers, preschools or kindergartens, administrators when possible could have a combination of bilingual and monolingual adults and children to maintain and encourage bilingualism informally.

In the primary and middle grades, where formal lessons are the rule, teachers might reserve two periods each day for speaking each language. At those times they could organize several small groups so that most students in each group are monolingual. The others would be in the process of learning the language of the monlinguals, or the target language. All students would then have to use the target language in order to communicate.

Monolingual adult visitors from the children's families, aides, teachers who speak only one language in the classroom, and children who are monolingual in the target language could be the "group monolinguals." The subject matter during these periods would vary and should not be the vocabulary or syntax of the target language.

A constant influx of a least some monolingual non-English speakers is necessary for such a program to continue. This would be a problem in some speech communities. In Spanish-speaking communities, however, there is usually a continuous immigration of SMs to the United States. In most of this country's communities there are numerous EMs who could serve as the group monolinguals when English is the target language.

Monolingual students who are beginning to learn their second language might need additional language instruction. A satisfactory approach for older children might combine to use of highly structured techniques, including memorization and repetition of patterned responses for short periods daily, with opportunities for less structured interactions with peers and adults who speak the target language.

Role of code-switching

The third consideration was the role of code-switching in a maintenance program. Code-switching was defined as the bilinguals' alternation of languages to convey social meaning. It is part of a speaker's communicative competence and is learned informally. Frequent alternation between codes seems to be at odds with a curriculum that maintains two languages by using each code separately for specified periods of time.

The natural phenomenon of code-switching should not be forbidden in a maintenance program. (it is doubtful that any program, even one that is nominally "English only, " could prevent bilinguals' spontaneous code-switches.) In class periods other than those designated for speaking only one language, on the playground or in the cafeteria, students would make language choices according to their own and their listeners' language dominance or perhaps according to degree of familiarity or ethnicity of addressee.

For educators to work toward language maintenance while they leave time for unstructured verbal interactions, they need to understand the social meaning of switching from one language to another. Conversational switches may be signals that the students feel a common bond among themselves, or between themselves and a teacher. Permitting the expression of this feeling may increase students' motivation and promote learning. Acceptance of the functions that different languages serve might ultimately produce better academic results than a constant preoccupation with maintaining single codes.

The results of the study challenge the opinion that bilingual children are "deficient" because they speak neither of their languages well. No claim is made that the findings apply to all six-year-old Spanish-English bilinguals because of the small number of children in the study. However, in naturalistic settings these four children were able to speak two languages fluently and to control a variety of speech styles within each language to demonstrate their social and linguistic competencies.

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Techniques for The Teaching of ESL in the Primary Grades

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Recent research in first language acquistion is gradually providing the psycholinguist and the developmental psychologist with the evidence necessary to construct a theory of first language acquisition. Many of the insights gained about the nature of first language acquisition are also applicable to the learning of a second language by very young children. There is some evidence, for example, that young children learning a second language call upon the same strategies and abilities which were used in the acquisition of their first language.

Some researchers view first and second language learning as analogous processes wherein the language learner actively participates in the discovery of the rule system of the target language (Tucker and d'Anglejan, 1976). In a study of French as a second language, Ervin-Tripp (1974) noted that her four to nine year-old English speaking subjects acquired their second language in a manner similar to first language acquisition. The functions of the early French sentences, their form, their semantic redundancy, their reliance on ease of short term memory, their overgeneralization of lexical forms, and their use of simple order strategies all were processes similar to those found in first language acquisition. Dulay and Burt (1974) reported that their subjects, aged five to eight and of various language backgrounds, made errors in English syntax similar to those made by first language learners. Their errors could not be attributed to interference of the first language. The authors conclude that these children were not learning English by a process of habit formation, but rather, using a "creative construction process" similar to that used by first language learners.

In addition, children in grades K through 3 fall well within the "sensitive period" for language learning noted by Lenneberg (1967). This is a developmental period when the child is specifically "programmed" as it were, to learn a language. The fact that all children everywhere, both in normal and retarded populations, are able to learn a language within a fairly short period of time speaks for the powerful nature of the language learning drive in young children. These processes are not limited to the acquistion of only one language but are applicable to any language in the environment in which the child must communicate.* There is some dispute as to whether the child's language learning strategies and abilities are wholly innate at birth or learned gradually as the oganism develops. There is little doubt, however, that children world-wide use similar strategies of acquisition in that all children everywhere learn to speak a language and do so in pretty much the same way.

Why is it then, that children who are well-equipped and experienced

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**For further information see: Brown, 1973; Kennedy, 1973; Sampson and Richards, 1973; and Dulay and Burt, 1974a.*

language learners often have difficulty learning a second language? The reason may be found in the language environment of the child. For example, the second language environment of the child is often limited to the learner's experiences. At home and on the playgound, children are able to communicate freely in their first language. In many sections of our cities in this country, a young child may only be exposed to English in school or on the television set. The classroom environment, therefore, is crucial to language learning and the ESL teacher endeavors to create experiences within the classroom setting that will enable young children to learn the second language as naturally and easily as they learned their first. As of now, a great deal of teaching time is devoted to the acquisition of syntax. And yet, error rate in the speech of our students is high. It is interesing to note that parents of infants learning their first language pay no attention to syntax and yet young children easily and quickly acquire the syntax of their first language (Brown, 1973).

If we accept the theory that second language learning in young children is a creative construction process similar to first language acquisition, then there are at least two general conclusions that can be drawn:

(1) Making errors is a necessary condition in the learning process. Errors do not indicate faulty learning or a need for further instruction, but rather a natural stage of development. Dulay and Burt (1976) suggest that the less explicit teaching of ESL syntax to children may produce better learning.

(2) The ESL classroom experience should attempt to duplicate the natural language environment found conducive to first language acquisition.

What kinds of experiences in the natural language environment are crucial to language acquisition? Most developmental psychologists would agree that sensori-motor experiences are crucial to the development of language in young children (Piaget, 1960). It is through exploration and experimentation that young children develop their cognitive abilities, through the use of the senses, and active manipulation of the environment. In addition, children learning to use language need a language user to talk to. I know of no children who have learned to speak by watching television. It is only by being spoken to in a natural communication setting that children learn to use language. Classroom activities should focus on genuine communication whereby children's utterances are judged on their content rather than on their grammatical form (Tucker and D'Anglejan, 1976).

In the elementary ESL classroom then, the environment, methods, and techniques should aim toward providing ample sensori-motor stimulation within a natural communication setting. In addition, the classroom language experiences should be related to the needs and pleasures of the child just as are most first language experiences. I would consider the following principles basic to an optimum second language classroom particularly for children in grades K to 3.

(1) Structure the language lesson around a meaningful language task. A meaningful task to young children is one in which their ideas and feelings are communicated or in which they are engaged in conversation about something that is important or enjoyable to them. A substitution drill is not a meaningful task to young children but a game activity can have meaning to children everywhere.

(2) Allow for performance by the child in every language lesson. Performance includes role-play, drawing and coloring, singing, imitating, playing games and pantomime.

(3) Use manipulative objects which can actually be handled by the children whenever possible.

(4) Use a variety of tasks for practicing a language element and space instructional periods so that the children are exposed to numerous, short periods per week rather than one or two long ones. This principle takes into account the fact that young children have short attention spans and benefit from frequent repetition.

(5) Use the second language as a socializing force in the classroom. Through the use of a second language, the children can learn to entertain, amuse, educate, and befriend one another. This last priciple negates the traditional image of the authoritarian classroom teacher performing for a passive group of students. Rather, the teacher enables the children to be the active performers. The focus here is on the learning task - not the teaching task.

The methods and techniques used to apply these principles in the classroom involve the use of action routines, games, role-play, song, and puppetry. The collection of ideas I have compiled below are not exhaustive but reflect the more successful routines I have discovered in my own classes of children, specifically in the grades K through 3.

General Vocabulary Builders

The beginning language learner needs to acquire a basic vocabulary fairly quickly. There are many techniques for teaching vocabulary which will be discussed later. However, two general ideas may be mentioned here. The **Object Box** consists of a cardboard box which contains a number of familiar household and school items in miniature form. It is helpful to place objects belonging to a specific category together e.g. furniture or school supplies. The box can be used to teach new vocabulary within a "Show and Tell" context. Beginning learners can ask and answer questions about the names of the items.

Child$_1$: What's this?
Child$_2$: It's a car.

More advanced learners can issue commands to other children.

C_1: Take out the __________ .
C_2: Put in the ___________ .

Classroom conversation may center around category names:

C_1: Is this an animal or an insect?
C_2: It's and animal.

or the children may be encouraged to discuss the purpose of the items:

C_1: What's a crayon used for?
C_2: A crayon is used for coloring.

Color charts may be placed in the box as well as items that typify common adjectives e.g. a cotton ball for "soft" or a nail file for "scratchy." In addition to providing conversational topics, the teacher can use the Object Box for a quick gross evaluation of the language level of a new pupil.

The conversational dialogue technique demonstrated here may be the most effective way to help children learn the syntax of the new language. Teacher questioning intrinsically involves active participation on the part of children. It is just this kind of creative and active language involvement that may be most useful in the the child's development of a rule-governed linguistic system (Greenfield and Smith, 1976). Children should also be encouraged to ask questions of each other so that peer dialogue practice can occur when the teacher is busy elsewhere.

A second similar technique for learning basic vocabulary, is the use of **Chart Paper Pictures.** Use large sheets of chart paper taped to the wall and collect an assortment of catalogs and magazines, scissors and paste. The child's task is to cut and paste appropriate pictures onto the outline you have created on the chart paper. For example, a large outline of a house containing various rooms must be filled with pictures of furniture, the streets of a town with the various transportation vehicles commonly seen. The cutting-pasting activity can be done with or without the teacher present. At some point in the project, however, each item is named and labelled and then the children can take turns pointing to the items or naming them or asking each other questions about them. The pictures are saved until everyone knows all the vocabulary on them and then new ones are made. This same activity could be done in individual notebooks but then the process would lose an important motivating factor - the use of language as a socializing force for young children.

Both of these activities involve performance, manipulation, and socialization. That is why students enjoy these tasks and learn from them. They are also versatile so that a teacher may use the basic format of an Object Box or Chart Paper Picture to teach a wide variety of language skills.

Action Routines

Action routines are immediately motivating to young children. At this age, children rarely exhibit the hesitancy that older learners sometimes do. They are eager performers. When the teacher introduces a meaningful language sequence into the action game, children are provided with a situation conducive to natural and easy language learning. Some suggested action routines include the following:

(1) **Simon Says** The teacher, and later a child acts as the leader issuing imperative commands such as "Simon says touch you nose." The children obey the orders if they are preceded by "Simon Says," if not, they do nothing. The object of this game is to learn and to have fun, so no one is ever called "out." If someone does make a mistake, the leader takes note of it and continues the game. Keep this game short and call on several students to be the leader.

(2) **Imperative Directional Routines** The leader gives directions to individuals or small groups of children, e.g. "Stand up, Sit down, Walk to the door, etc." Change leaders frequently.

(3) **Listen and Do** While a child is out of the room, the class hides an object. The child is then recalled and given a series of directions to help him or her find the hidden object. The entire class may take turns in giving appropriate directions, e.g.

C_1: Walk to the blackboard
C_2: Turn left.
C_3: Go to the window.
C_4: Pick up the book. etc.

Any of the above action routines can be used with other verb tenses. While an action is in progress, the class can be asked to tell "What's he doing", "What did she do?", and "What's she going to do?"

(4) **Miming** Action chains may be mimed by one child and recounted by another. The teacher asks "What do you do before school every day Maria? Show us." After Maria pantomimes her actions, another student recounts the action chain in the present tense.

C_1: Every day she gets up, washes
her face, brushes her teeth,
and dresses.

These action chains are more fun if simple props are provided for the children to use, for example, a bar of soap, a toothbrush, and some eating utensils.

(5) **Cross the Line** Draw a line with chalk across the front of the classroom. Form the children into a line at the rear of the room. In turn, the teacher or student leader tells each child to perform an action (e.g. "Touch your nose.") If the action is performed correctly, the child may take a giant step forward. The object is to cross the finish line.

(6) **Mother/Father May I?** The above game can also be played with the addition of the request from "Mother (or Father), May I?" before the action is performed. The leader must respond "Yes, you may," or "No, you may

not."

(7) **Choosing Sides** Divide the black board in half vertically with a line of colored chalk. Write YES in large letters on one side and NO in large letters on the other side. Using real objects or picture cards, you can conduct an enjoyable vocabulary review by holding up an object and asking, "Is this a pencil?" The children must run to that half of the blackboard containing the correct answer. This game is best played with about six children. With a larger class, play in groups of six. The children who remain seated can decide if the running students have selected the correct response. Don't forget to let the children take your place as soon as they catch on to the game.

Picture Drills

When conducting language activities with young children, it is advisable to use real objects or pictures to cue the children to the meaning of the language item. In both first and second language learning, those items are learned first which have clear semantic referents. Through a pairing of contextual clues with the language item, children can begin to comprehend language and finally, produce it themselves.

Pictures are readily available in elementary schools in language kits such as the Peabody Kit, in picture books, and in published reading materials. Magazines and catalogs are another source. Also, don't forget garage and tag sales which are a good place to find manufactured games containing a variety of beautiful pictures. It's advisable to laminate your pictures onto a sturdy backing, since the purpose of the pictures is student manipulation. Despite a lot of handling, my pictures last for years with a protective covering of plastic laminate. Use your pictures whenever possible for classroom conversation. Rather than conduct a drill routine, ask the children to help you play school and choose a student to role-play the part of the teacher. Line up the pictures on the chalk ledge and let the children select the ones they wish to discuss. Encourage questions and answers between the teacher and his students. Help out occasionally with a whispered prompt to the "teacher." For example:

C_1: (selects a picture) Who's this?
C_2: (It's) a truck driver.
C_1: What does a truck driver do?
C_2: (He) drives a truck.

Another method for encouraging student direction in the language activity is to deal several cards to each child. The children pick up their cards and select the ones they wish to question their partners about. Or the teacher may arrange the cards face down in a fan shape and allow the children to select their own cards randomly. In this way, the language practice becomes a communication activity which takes on the aura of a game and is student directed rather than teacher directed. Participation and motivation are immediately increased under these conditions.

Picture Games

(1) **I See Something** Use large or intricate pictures for this game.

T: I see something red (soft, with four legs, etc.)
C: Is it the book?
T: No, it isn't, etc.

The child who guesses correctly takes the part of the teacher. The game is particularly good for teaching colors and descriptive adjectives or adjectival phrases. By playing the game with a picture, of course, it's possible to review vocabulary items not normally found in the classroom.

(2) **Concentration** This is a picture game that is an offshoot of the TV show. It is very useful in teaching things that "go together" e.g. bread and butter, or things that are opposites e.g. night and day. Use two sets of cards, either go-together cards or opposites, and review all of the vocabulary pairs. Next, mix up the cards and place them face down on the table or floor. Each child in turn is allowed to turn over two cards. If they form a pair, the child may keep them, if not, the cards must be returned to their same position, face down. As each child turns over the cards, he or she must say the name of the object depicted. The aim is to collect as many pairs as possible.

Sequential Pictures

Sequential pictures are those which clearly show actions that follow one another in time. My major source for these kinds of pictures is Developmental Learning Materials (Niles, Illinois). I use a variety of language learning techniques with these picture sequences. Basically, each child receives a group of pictures out of order. The child is to place them in the correct order and then tell the story to a partner. The partner may ask questions about the story and then proceed to tell his or her own story and answer questions about it. Many activities can be devised from this basic experience. For example:

(1) **Story Telling** The entire class may be presented with a group of scramble pictures either drawn on or taped onto the blackboard. After basic vocabulary is reviewed, the children may volunteer to tell what happened in the story first, second, etc. Each child may describe one scene. Later, ask other children to volunteer to tell the entire story.

(2) **Experience Chart Stories** The story may be reviewed without the

pictures the following day and printed onto chart paper as an experience chart story. Students may volunteer to read the story. After the basic stories have been learned, more advanced students may be asked to change the verb tenses, e.g. "What will Joe do tomorrow?"

(3) **Story Writing** Higher elementary level students may use the stories as the basis for short compositions. Unknown vocabulary may be placed on the blackboard as the children request it.

(4) **Story Books** If the children are working with individual sequence cards, the various compositions can be placed on ditto masters. Each child will then receive a set of the compositions written by the children in the group. These student-produced books provide excellent reading practice. I like to let the authors read their stories in front of the group while the other children read along silently using their own copies of the book.

Dialogues

Dialogues are an important part of the language lesson. There is some evidence that dialogue interchanges between parents and children provide the major source of information necessary to children learning the syntax of their first language (Greenfield and Smith, 1976). Indeed, since a young child is not directly taught the syntax of his or her first language, the only experience with grammatical relations probably comes through the redundant and highly simplified speech of the primary caretaker, usually the child's mother. Dialogues can be encouraged in the class room through the use of puppet play. Puppets are an important motivational aid with young children. They allow for performance, manipulation, and variety in the language lesson. I use a good many types of puppets so that the puppet play remains novel. Hand puppets, finger puppets, and thumb puppets all present different challenges which the young child is eager to tackle. Some of the puppet types that I'm familiar with include:

(1) **Commercial Puppets** These are usually made of plastic or felt and can be fashioned to represent various age groups or animals.

(2) **Popsicle Stick Puppets** These puppets can be teacher or student made. Color a drawing in a coloring book, paste it onto a cardboard backing, and tape it to a popsicle stick. You may include animal puppets in your popsicle stick collection.

(3) **Finger Puppets** These may be made of paper such as the Sesame Street cardboard punch-out puppets sold in the dime store. You may also fashion a simple finger puppet out of felt.

(4) **Thumbelina Puppets** My students enjoy having me paint puppet faces on their thumbs with a magic marker. The children often use these

puppets long after the language class is ended.

(5) **Paper Bag Puppets** and **Paper Plate Puppets** These puppets are not long lived but they do provide an entertaining art session for the students during which many activities such as cutting, pasting, and drawing may be discussed.

Puppets have long been used in the elementary ESL program to teach memorized dialogues. Another approach, which may be more effective with young children and may more closely approximate the natural language environment, is to lead an open-ended dialogue. Using this method, the teacher may proceed as follows:

T: (showing a puppet) Here is a new student from Italy.
Do you have any questions for him?
C_1: What's your name?
P: My name's Vincenzo.
C_2: What language do you speak?
C_3: Do you have any brothers and sisters? etc.

The same method may be used with different topics, for example occupations.

T: (showing a puppet) This is Mr. Jones. Ask him
questions about his job.
C_1: Do you work in a hospital?
P: No, I don't.
C_2: Are you a teacher?
P: No, I'm not.
C_3: Do you work in a store? etc.

Once the children understand how these open-ended dialogues are conducted, the teacher can ask for volunteers to play the part of the puppet. Open-ended dialogues are closer to the real conversation environment than memorized dialogues. The question-answer format provides a demand for a response. The children learn how to use English syntax, with teacher's help by manipulating the vocabulary at their disposal in various ways. This creative use of language is similar to the strategies used by the child in acquisition of the first language.

Role Playing

Another method for individual practice of language is the use of role-play. Instead of using puppets, the children play the roles "in disguise" using simple props and costumes. The number of people discussed in children's conversations is not large. Therefore, it's not necessary for the teacher to have a large supply of costumes. In my class, we usually have mother (an apron), a father (a hat or necktie), a child (no prop unless the child is going outside in which case I volunteer my wool scarf), and a teacher (a pair of empty glass frames). Community members are equally simple. The grocer wears an apron while the doctor and dentist put on a man's white shirt turned backwards.

Props are easily obtained. Several years ago I made up a collection of tin cans and empty cardboard food boxes. We use these items in our grocery store constantly. Also handy are a plastic bag containing a collection of small wooden cars, houses, animals, and people that were bought at a flea market for 25¢. Toy telephones, play money, a rubber ball, and a baby doll are other items that we use for our role play dialogues. In spite of the simplicity of the props and costumes, very young children take great delight in "dressing up," playing the various roles and handling the objects. Even the most bashful and self-conscious children clamor to take part in the activity. Naturally, everyone gets a turn to take at least one of the roles.

The conversational sequences are loosely structured by the teacher. For example, the mother will be instructed to send the little boy to the store to buy a loaf of bread and a bottle of milk. When he arrives, the store clerk is instructed to respond that he doesn't have any bread. The sequences are kept short so that each student may participate.

Rhymes, Songs, and Fingerplay Poems

Another essential ingredient in the elementary level language lesson are rhymes, songs, and fingerplay poems. They are not only a source of enrichment in the ESL curriculum, they are also a practical way of making a drill activity enjoyable. Young children are attracted to rhyme and rhythm. Children's language at play is replete with rhythmic nonsense and TV jingles. The use of rhyme and song in the classroom provides the child with the repetition and associational elements necessary to strengthen second language skills. These rhymes and songs will also most likely be the part of the lesson carried out of the classroom with the child and repeated at home for mother and baby brother.

Songs with a good melodic line and lots of repetition are best for the ESL classroom, for example "Old MacDonald Had a Farm" and "Bingo." I present new vocabulary to the children first, either using picture cards or real objects. Then we say the lines of the song together. Next, I play a record containing the new song or sing the song myself with the help of a guitar. If I play a record, I sing along with it pointing to the appropriate pictures or using mimicking gestures that will help to convey meaning. Finally, the class sings the song together. Remember to review old songs at this time and allow the children to request their favorites. Several publishers of ESL materials are now producing records with songs that help teach various aspects of syntax. Although not all of these are useful for young children, I have found some that are quite appealing to the young children that I work with.

Some of the standard nursery rhymes in English contain obscure vocabulary items such as **curds** and **whey** and I avoid teaching these. However, there are many that are simple and fun such as "Humpty Dumpty," "There Was an Old Woman," and "Mary Had a Little Lamb." Even more entertaining to young children are fingerplay rhymes. These combine repetition and rhyme with the use of illustrative hand gestures. The key to success with fingerplay is simplicity. The gestures and the rhyme cannot be too complex to be learned in a ten-minute teaching session. Perhaps you can remember learning "Two Little Blackbirds," "Open, Close Them," and "Here is a Church." All of these are appropriate to the second language child. The best collection of fingerplay rhymes I have found is in Faye Bumpass' book *Teaching Young Students English as a Foreign Language* (American Book Co.: 1963, pp. 144-149.)

Games

Games are an excellent motivational tool for the language teacher. In my classes with young children, the announcement "Let's play a game" is met with an immediate and joyful response. Because games produce such enthusiasm in my students, I attempt to use them in every lesson in order to increase student involvement in the language activity. Games are also helpful in teaching young children the vocabulary of play. This is a necessary social skill for children living in an English-speaking environment. Often, I find non-English students who are emotionally troubled because of their inability to develop social relationships among children of their own age. The child may be progressing well in classroom English but hasn't yet learned the vocabulary to help communicate at play, for example:

It's (not) _______'s turn.
Your're first/last.
I/You win.
_______'s the winner.
Good shot/catch/hit! etc.

Game activities in the classroom help children to develop communication skills in this important area.

My experience with games and young children has taught me a few basic principles to follow in game playing. First, the most successful games are those that are simple. The game should require no lengthy explanation. The children must be able to understand the concept of the game through a brief demonstration. Second, games should be kept short. If the game involves a student leader, or person designated "It," continue the game until everyone has had a turn. Then end it. Children at this age level have very rigid ideas of "what's fair." Not getting a turn to be "It" is "not fair" and the children will resent the game playing rather than enjoy it. Finally, the object of the game should be to have fun and not to win. I never emphasize competition with young children. The idea of winning or not winning is threatening to them. Competition discourages the timid child from participating and encourages too much aggression in the adventurous child. The teacher can easily avoid an emotion-charged game session through manipulation of the game rules. For example, no one is ever "out" in my game sessions. Being "out" would obviously defeat the purpose of the activity which is to become active language users. Teacher encouragement should be directed toward a child's use of the new language rather than a child's ability to play the game. The goal of the activity is language communication and any student who uses the new language well should be treated as winner even if he or she happens to lose the game.

Following are a variety of specific games which I've divided into categories e.g. Hidden Object games, Spin games, Bingo/Lotto games, and Number games.

Hidden Object Games

(1) **What's in my hand?** In this game, the children conceal small objects (perhaps from the Object Box) or a picture card in their hands and ask:

T: What's in my hand? Guess.
C: Is it a car?
T: No, it isn't.
C: Is it a dog? etc.

The child who guesses correctly now may choose an object to conceal. This game is useful in reviewing vocabulary, practicing yes-no questions, and short answers.

(2) **Where's the cat?** This game can be used to practice prepositions of place. While the children's eyes are closed, the leader may place objects in/on/under various objects in the area, then ask:

C_1: Where's the cat?
C_2: Is it under the box?
C_1: No, it isn't. etc.

(3) **Colored Cups Game** Using styrofoam cups, the teacher may review color names, adjective placement, and the preposition "under" by coloring the bottom of each cup a different color and then concealing an object under one of the cups.

T: Where's the cat?

C: Is it under the red cup?
T: No, it isn't. etc.

(4) **What Is It?** Each child in turn leaves the room while the rest of the class decides upon one object (In the room or among a limited collection of objects on the table.) The correct object must be guessed when "It" returns.

It: Is it the car?
Ch: No, it isn't. etc.

(5) **The Shoe Game** The above game is more fun when the hidden object is a personal possession of the child. This expands the game to practice of the possessive pronoun "my, her, his." Shoes are a great favorite in my class. Simply take "It's" shoe to hide when the child is out of the room. Motivation will be high to find the missing shoe.

It: Is it in the desk?
Ch: No it isn't. Where's your shoe?
It: Is it in the closet?
Ch: Yes it is. Your shoe's in the closet.
It: My shoe's in the closet.
T: Where's her shoe class?
Ch: Her shoe's in the closet.

Make sure everyone gets a turn to "lose" a shoe.

(6) **The Blindfold** While one child is blindfolded, another child may say something. The blindfolded child must guess who was speaking.

Ch: Who was it?
It: Was it John?
Ch: No it wasn't.

Another form of questioning might go this way:

It: Was it a boy or a girl?
Ch: It was a boy.
It: Is he tall or short?
Ch: He's short. etc.

Once the child has been correctly identified, he or she takes a turn being blindfolded.

(7) **The Blindfold Game II** In another version, while one child is blindfolded, another child may perform an action such as jumping, clapping hands, etc. The class asks:

Ch: What did he do?
It: He jumped. /or/ Did he jump?
Ch: No he didn't. etc.

Spin Games

(1) **Who's First?** The use of a spinner immediately transforms any

activity into a game. Plastic spinners from old gameboards can be placed on top of interchangeable paper plates which have been lettered or numbered to suit your purpose. If you're working with a small group, the children's names may be written on the paper plate. A spin of the dial will decide "Who's first" in the day's activity. This is a helpful technique for eliciting the participation of children who never volunteer.

(2) **The Go-Together Game** A number of go-together and opposite games can be played with the help of a spinner. Place small pictures of the vocabulary items you wish to practice in a circle around a paper plate or on sturdy oak tag. The children spin to locate an object and then must find (or provide a picture of) another object that goes with it (e.g. mother cow and baby calf), or an opposite (e.g. fat boy and thin boy).

(3) **Spin a Question** Spin dials may be used to provide the basis for a question and answer routine. For example:

C_1: (spinning a picture of a boy reading a book) Is the boy riding a bike?
C_2: No, he isn't. He's reading a book.

Bingo or Lotto Type Games

(1) **Object Lotto** This game is commercially manufactured but can also be teacher-made. The game requires a set of large master cards containing a group of pictures which correspond to another set of small picture cards. The pictures may be cut out of duplicate magazines or reproduced on a stencil. The object of the game is to match the pictures on the master card with a small picture. The student leader holds all the small pictures, and in turn asks:

C_1: Who has the _______?
C_2: I have the _______(placing the picture on the master card).

The children should take turns being the leader.

(2) **Go-Together Lotto** This game is the same as above except that here children must match objects that go together e.g. needle and thread.

C_1: (holds up a picture card and says) Butter
C_2: Butter goes with bread (placing the small card on his or her master card)

Another version might be:

C_1: (holds up a picture) What goes with butter?
C_2: Bread goes with butter.

(3) **Number Bingo** In this game, the teacher distributes cards containing approximately nine numbers to each child. The teacher or student leader calls out a number and the children respond by placing a disc on the appropriate space on the game card. The object is to complete a row of numbers and yell "Bingo." Begin by using the numbers 1-12. More

advanced students can play with cards that discriminate between number pairs such as 15-50, 13-30, etc.

(4) **Paper Bingo** This game is the same as Number Bingo but it requires no teacher preparation. Simply give each of the children a sheet of light-colored construction paper and demonstrate the method of folding the paper so that between 12 to 16 squares are formed. Instruct the children to write one numeral (from 1 - 10 or 1 - 20) in each square in a random fashion. As the leader calls out various numbers from small slips of paper, the children make an X through that numeral on their paper grid. The object is to complete a row of X's. Keep playing until all the children have accomplished this.

(5) **Clock Bingo** In this game, supply each child with a game card containing a number of clock faces where each clock tells a different time. The children place colored discs or pieces of paper on top of those clocks which show the time called out by the leader. The object of this game is to cover all the clock faces on the board. With young children, play the game in the beginning with each clock showing an o'clock time. More advanced students may play with clocks showing quarter and half-hour times.

Number Games

(1) **Chalkboard Numbers** This is a simple number practice game which involves the use of the chalkboard and colored chalk. Write a group of numbers requiring review on the chalkboard at a level where the children can reach them. Let each child in turn go to the board and draw an X over the numeral that the teacher or student leader calls out. Make sure everyone gets a turn.

(2) **Counting Game** The teacher or a student leader can lead the class in a counting game by tapping slowly with a ruler on a desk. The class counts in unison with each tap. For the second half of the game, the children close their eyes, put their heads on their desks, and count silently with each tap. The children then call out the total number of taps they have heard. Let the children take turns being the leader.

Other Games

(1) **Fishing** Use a stick for a fishing pole. Attach string and a magnet on one end. Next, assemble a group of small pictures or number cards and put a paper clip on each one. Let each child take a turn and fish for a card. The child retrieves the card and then asks anyone in the group "What did I catch?" If the child responds correctly, he or she may keep the card and have a turn fishing. If the question is answered incorrectly, the first student

may supply the correct answer and fish again.

(2) **Grocery Store** Select two students, one to be the grocer and the other the buyer. Give the grocer a group of picture cards of various food items. These card are to be hidden from the class. The buyer's job is to ask for a food that the grocer has "in stock" that day e.g.

Buyer: Do you have any eggs?
Grocer: No, I don't (have any eggs).
Buyer: Do you have any bread?
Grocer: Yes I do (have some bread).

The buyer may then take the milk picture card and another student takes a turn at being the buyer. Limit each student to 3 guesses.

(3) **Categories** This is a quick little word game that is useful in reviewing vocabulary items as well as in teaching children various categorical terms. The leader asks each child in turn to "Name a color" (or a number, animal, food, etc.) The child must call out a color as quickly as possible. The category is changed for each student's turn. It's a good idea to review some of the category items with the class before playing the game. Once started, keep the pace fast and the game short.

(4) **Board Games** Teacher-made board games are easy to construct. Use a large piece of oak tag and paste pictures of the vocabulary items you wish to practice. Connect the pictures by drawing a line with a magic marker. Use a spinner and toy cars (or some other appropriate board pieces) to proceed from one picture to another. The future tense can be practiced in this way:

C_1: Where are you going?
C_2: I'm going to the hospital. (In a game using community buildings.)

Laminate the game board and it will last for years.

The ideas and activities mentioned here may not be completely new to experienced teachers. However, the emphasis that I am proposing may be novel. Teachers may best facilitate language learning in young children by avoiding the overt teaching of syntax. Instead, teachers of young children should focus upon language communication by providing classroom situations which actively engage a child's linguistic participation and which convey clear semantic meaning to the child. The child's language learning abilities will develop best in such an environment.

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DIALECT AND LEARNING TO READ*

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INTRODUCTION

In G. Bernard Shaw's delightful play of the Pygmalion legend, there is a point where the flower girl says that it is not the way you speak that makes the difference between a flower girl and a lady, but the way that you are treated. To this Professor Higgins might well have replied, "But my dear, how you speak affects the way that you are treated." And, we would add, this is so in the real world too, where language often acts as a gatekeeper rather than as a facilitator of understanding. Shaw's flower girl and professor spoke the same language, but their widely divergent varieties of it created a distance between them as real as any in space or time.

Different speech communities exist in all languages. Tied by facts of social class, geographical region or some other bond, the members of these communities manifest their kinship linguistically through the dialects they speak. According to Webster's *Third New International Dictionary*, **dialect** is a variety of language that is used by one group of persons and has features of vocabulary (lexis), grammar (syntax), and pronounciation (phonology) which distinguish it from other varieties used by other groups. In American English, with one exception, all dialects can be comprehended by speakers of other dialects, though imperfectly at first. The one exception is a dialect called Gullah which is spoken by approximately 250,000 rural blacks along the southeastern coast of the United States from South Carolina to the Florida border (King, 1977). There are greater similarities across American English dialect boundaries than there are differences. Americans are able to understand many different dialects but are unable to produce most of them. In some other languages however, (e.g., Italian), dialects are so dissimilar that they function more as separate languages than as different varieties of a single language. This essay will concern itself with those dialects which are accessible to all speakers of a given language, and will use the American dialect black vernacular English for illustrative purposes.

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Dialects exist when individuals of one group communicate among themselves more than they do with speakers of another group. Various professions, occupations, and hobbies have dialects of their own which consist primarily of specialized vocabularies called **jargon.** Also, age-related groups share dialects of sorts. For example, I overheard this exchange in a large store some time back. An elderly woman asked a salesperson in the linens department to show her some **counterpanes.** Counterpane is now a rather archaic term for blanket or coverlet. Her request was met by a look of bewilderment. "We have no counterpanes," the salesperson replied somewhat annoyed. "Oh no," said the elderly shopper, equally agitated, "then what are those (pointing to the blankets?" There are also dialect differences that are determined on the basis of geography. For example, the word **g-r-e-a-s-y** rhymes with **fleecy** in the northern sections of the United States. It rhymes with **easy** in the South. In the north east we call the small staircase leading to a house a **stoop**; elsewhere it's called a **porch**. The example of the flower girl in Shaw's play exemplifies the social class factor in dialect.

Rarely, except in the case of young children, do we find anyone who speaks only one dialect. Instead, individuals vary their dialect according to the context or social setting. Labov (1970) calls this **style shifting.** He says that all individuals will show some variation in phonological and syntactical rules according to the immediate context in which they are speaking. For example, Labov found that in New York City certain speakers evidence some style shifting in the pronunciation of **-r** as in **car,** so that in more formal situations they will use more **-r,** and in casual speech almost none at all. In New York, **-r** lessness is perceived negatively. It is not in other parts of the United States or in other native English-speaking countries. Why this is so is uncertain. Perhaps it has something to do with the historical origins or **-r** lessness in New York as McDavid (1977) has traced them. He believes New Yorkers adopted this linquistic trait from their close association with the British before and during the Revolutionary War, and afterwards through New York's mercantile relations with England. Another example of the effect of context on speech has been found in Puerto Rican bilingual children aged 6 to 12 years in New York City. Such youngsters know significantly more English words for education and religion than Spanish words. They know more Spanish words for home and family (Ervin-Tripp, 1972).

Of the three characteristics of language — sound, vocabulary and grammar — we are more tolerant of variations in pronunciation and vocabulary than in grammar. In American English, for example, peppering one's speech with loan words from other dialects is a matter of prestige. Using, in appropriate contexts, such words as **bread, macho, klutz, hip, cool** is taken as a mark of sophisticaton. The social impact of borrowing an occasional word and embedding it into a prestige dialect is quite another matter, however, from the effect of a low-prestige dialect which is characterized by marked variations in sound, lexicon, and syntax. The fact remains that dialect differences do act as social class barriers. For example, the pronunciation of **mad, bad,** and **glad,** in the regional dialect called Brooklynese in the United States immediately sets up in the mind of the listener a negative image of the speaker's social status.

DIALECT - A CASE IN POINT

There are many nonstandard dialects — those which depart from standard, informal usage. In American English, Brooklynese, Spanglish, and black English would all fall into this category. The one which has been most intensively studied and discussed is **black vernacular English** (BVE). This label may be misleading for two reasons. First, the ethnic identificaion might lead one to assume that this is a genetic characteristic. Of course, it is not. Many black people have never spoken BVE, while persons of other ethnic groups may speak BVE, if this is the dialect of their speech community. In addition, certain standard regional dialects share some features of BVE such as the homophonous **pin** and **pen,** and the absence of /r/ in certain linguistic contexts (e.g. pak the cah, No'th Ca'lina) (Goodman and Sims, 1974).

Second, there is no single black dialect which speakers use all the time, regardless of context, BVE speakers engage in style shifting according to the social context, just as all speakers do (Fasold and Wolfram, 1970).

The origin and development of BVE is inextricably woven into the complex history of the Atlantic slave trade (Stewart, 1967). It is important to understand that BVE evolved into a fully formed linguistic system with its own rules of syntax and pronunciation. It is not an unworthy approximation of standard English. In the United States BVE is spoken by some, though not all, low-income black persons. It shows a good deal of consistency throughout the United States, and it is used by many schoolchildren in large, urban centers. Thus, BVE is an important concern to teachers and other school personnel.

To give you a sense of BVE, here are some of its major syntactical features:

1. Absence of the "s" in the third person singular, present indicative
   Example: Her mother work in school.
   (Her mother works in school).
2. Zero copula
   a) No link between a subject and its direct object
   Example: She a good girl
   (She is a good girl.)

b) No link between a subject and participle or a subject and its modifier in the predicate

Example: She going to the movies
(She is going to the movies)

Mary happy because it's her birthday
(Mary is happy because it's her birthday.)

3. Double Negation
Example: He didn't have no fun.
(He didn't have any fun.)
4. Substitution of "did" or "can" for the "if" expression of choice or a possible action.
Example: She asked me did I see the teacher.
(She asked me if I saw the teacher.)
5. Zero past marker
absence of **-ed**, **-t**, and **-d** affixes to regular verbs in the past tense
Example: He drop the ball.
(He dropped the ball.)
6. Zero possessive marker
Example: They found their father key.
(They found their father's key.)
7 Zero plural marker
Example: All the children washed their hand.
(All the children washed their hands.)
8. Use of "be" in a habitual or temporal sense.
Example: He be working
(He is regularly employed.)

INFLUENCE OF SOCIAL AND POLITICAL FACTORS

Dialect acts as a social class marker, an index of one's status in the community. Traditionally, the move upward on the social ladder has meant not only an emulation of dress and manners, but linguistic style, as well. Indeed, language has always played a major role in the power relations among groups. The conquest of a land often meant the victor's imposition of its language on the vanquished. Even to this day, a government's language policy can result in a great response from those whom the policy affects. Sometimes, this response is positive as was the case when the South African government suspended a directive making Africaans mandatory in tribal schools. The imposition of Africaans triggered bloody riots. Sometimes the reaction is quite angry as when New Delhi's language policy sent thousands of students into the streets to protest the designation of Hindi as the **lingua franca** in state schools (Iiams, 1977).

Whether it is by explicit government mandate or implicit social pressure, the imposition of a dialect or a separate language upon a dominated group by a dominant group invariably involves conflict. Gaarder (1975) draws an interesting distinction in learning another dialect. He calls this distinction **obligatory** versus **voluntary bilingualism.** In voluntary bilingualism, individuals select to become bilingual by their own (or their parents') free choice. The skill is acquired from family members, tutors, servants, special schools or classes, or trips abroad. This kind of bilingualism is elitist, voluntary and academic. Obligatory bilingualism is a collective phenomenon which occurs when one group must learn a second language in order to survive in its society. The parallels to dialect are obvious. An individual who borrows words from a low status dialect and uses them because it is smart or the "in" thing to do might be said to be practicing voluntary bidialectalism. On the other hand, the individual who must learn an acceptable standard dialect in order to survive a job interview is experiencing obligatory bilingualism: in America, Puerto Ricans and Mexican-Americans (Chicanos) must learn English; Catalans in Spain must learn Portuguese or Spanish or English. Obligatory bilingualism is a one-sided phenomenon, since it is the subordinate and not the dominant group which becomes bilingual. Wolff (1967) found, for example, in a study of coastal and interior tribes of Southern Nigeria that the coastal tribe which controlled the trade of the area spoke the preferred tongue. Members of the inland tribe had to be bilingual in order to function economically. Members of the coastal tribe, however, did not learn the dialect of the inland tribe. The economic correlates of these languistic power relations among groups was observed, as well, by Weber (1967) who found that Mayan Indian mothers who wanted their children to be able to work at occupations other than farming, taught them Spanish early in their lives.

Although the signs may be somewhat obscured or more subtle, the pressures impinging on speakers of a low-prestige dialect are as real as in the case of obligatory bilingualism. BVE offers an excellent example. Despite the fact that BVE is acknowledged by language scholars to be a fully developed system equal in its communicative function to any other dialect in its base language, it continues to be characterized as "sloppy", "lazy", or "bad English" by both black and white persons (Schwartz, 1975). Moreover, the integrity of the dialect has been attacked as either the romanticizing of racial myth, or another attempt to prevent the economic assimilation of black people in America (Rustin, 1971). Where the issue takes on added significance for educators is in its pedagogical consequences. Is it the school's role in working with BVE speakers to use this dialect as the language of instruction? Most surveys of attitudes on this question say no (DeStefano, 1971; Goodman, 1969; Labov, 1969; Stewart, 1969). Or, should the school attempt to dispose of BVE entirely and replace it with a standard school dialect? How does this dialect affect school achievement in general, and learning to read specifically?

DIALECT AND SCHOOL ACHIEVEMENT

In the 1960's, the predominant view of the linguistic performance of BVE speakers was one of language deficiency. The **deficit model** considered this dialect to be underdeveloped, defective and restricted in significant ways. As an extension of this conception, various intervention programs were developed which varied from quite informal to highly structured, but which uniformly sought to remediate this deficiency, and to compensate for it. Because the children's language retarded their school performance, it was argued, remediating their language would facilitate their academic progress. Since about 1970, however, a **language difference model** has been propounded which says that BVE is a different, yet highly structured and developed system which is not inferior to standard dialect (Stewart, 1970; Stodolsky and Lesser, 1657; Wolfram, 1970). Rather than being linguistically deprived, this position argues that black children in urban environments receive much verbal stimulation and participate in a highly verbal culture (Labov, 1972). The language community in which these children participate is different than but not inferior to standard American English. For the language difference model, the instructional goal of the school is not to obliterate or even change the child's dialect, but to add to it in order to enable the child to use standard English competently in those contexts where it would be preferred.

The proposition that dialect has measurably significant effect on school achievement has never been demonstrated in fact, although it is a widely held popular belief. Hall and Turner (1974) for example, after a careful review of empirical data on the relationship between BVE and school success, found no support for the notion that dialect difference itself contributes to school failure. Walker (1975) investigated the effect of Newfoundland dialect on the oral reading performance of third-grade children and found that the syntactical differences between their dialect and the standard English reading materials did not interfere with reading achievement. The proposition that difficulties might arise as a result of incompatibilities in the indigenous and school dialect's syntax, phonology and lexicon might have some validity in the area of oral reading. Yet, from a review of the research, Harber and Bryen (1976) conclude that although there is some evidence of dialect interference in the performance of BVE speakers in oral reading (e.g., Hunt, 1974-75), the evidence is not unequivocal.

Rather than the dialect itself, perhaps it is the attitudes of school personnel toward the low-prestige dialect which contributes to poor scholastic performance. Indeed, there is empirical evidence to support the existence of such attitudes. Williams and Whitehead (1973) conducted an investigation which found that teachers tend to rate children on the basis of their use of BVE as less confident and less eager than children who do not use this dialect. Whereas Goodman (1965) had earlier asserted that the mismatches between the child's nonstandard dialect and the standard dialect encountered in beginning reading materials account for reading difficulties, he later rejected this hypothesis. With Buck, Goodman (1973) now proposes that achievement in reading may be affected more by the negative valence attached to nonstandard dialects in school settings than by characteristics of the dialects themselves. Along with other Americans, speakers of BVE have receptive though not necessarily productive control over the standard dialect. Such speakers comprehend with facility standard American English. His research with children led Goodman to conclude that although proficient readers make fewer dialect miscues (errors) than non-proficient readers, dialect miscues themselves do not interfere with the reading process.

Thus, while the incidence of low reading achievement among children who speak BVE is high, the data do not support a causal relationship between the dialect itself and their performance.

TEACHING STRATEGIES

Brandes and Brewer (1977) enumerate four possible options for speakers of divergent, nonstandard dialects: a) The traditional grammarian approach-establish one standard dialect and require all persons to use it; b) the *laissez-faire* approach - allow all persons to use their indigenous dialects both in and out of the classroom; c) the nationalistic approach - establish (or perpetuate) homogeneous educational settings in each of which the local dialect would be used; and d) the multi-dialectal approach - teach persons to be competent in at least the formal and informal dialects of their region, and to be knowledgeable about when and where each dialect is preferred. Each of these alternatives has an equivalent for the teaching of reading.

1. **First teach the child to speak standard dialect and then begin reading instruction in standard dialect.**

The instructional strategies employed to accomplish this goal can vary widely. In the linguistic enrichment method, literature, music, drama and such teacher strategies as modeling and expansion are used to stimulate the child's oral language production in standard dialect. Cullinan, Jaggar, and Strickland (1974) for example, report that a literature-based oral language program significantly affected the ability of children who spoke BVE to produce standard English. More structured methods use such procedures as pattern drill and contrastive techniques. Borrowing from second-language teaching, the pattern drill method presents and then drills the student in specific standard dialect patterns. With younger children these drills may be dressed in the guise of a game. Peter Parrot, for example, presents a pattern and then solicits its repetition from children. With older students, direct instruction with contrastive techniques teaches them what standard English is and how it differs from nonstandard English (Baratz, 1969).

The notion of delaying reading instruction until mastery of the standard dialect is accomplished has many difficulties. First, considering how heavily fraught with emotion learning to read is, it is doubtful whether most parents would be willing to allow the postponement of instruction for some indeterminate amount of time. Second, systematically training in a second dialect may imply a disparagement of the indigenous dialect and the home, family and friends to which the dialect has deep emotional ties. Third, peer groups, particularly of adolescents, may resist attempts to change communicative patterns which contribute to intra-group identification and cohesion (Pertz, 1971). Fourth, there is no evidence that training children to speak standard English will contribute to their success in reading. Rystrom (1968, 1970) conducted two studies to test the hypothesis that training first-grade children who speak BVE to use standard informal English will contribute to higher reading achievement. What he found was quite the reverse. Dialect training did not result in better dialect performance. And, dialect training had a negative effect on the decoding skills of the children who had received the instruction.

2. **Use Instructional materials written in the nonstandard dialect.**

This approach opts for dialect readers for initial reading instruction with the use of transitional materials to introduce standard English gradually. Besides removing the inconsistencies between the child's own dialect and what appears in initial reading material, this approach claims that the use of child's dialect would be highly motivating, as well. (Baratz, 1969).

A fundamental question in evaluating this option is whether or not instruction in the child's native dialect contributes to higher achievement. In one experiment, Keisler and Stern (1969) report that black preschoolers learned significantly more about the content of instruction (sea animals) when the commentary was provided in standard English than when it was presented in BVE. Cagney (1977) reported a study of the listening comprehension achievement of kindergartners and first-graders when stories were presented in standard English and BVE. Results indicated that reading stories to children in their own dialect even when the oral reader was proficient in the dialect, did not improve listening comprehension. Nolen (1972) found that second- and fourth-grade children who spoke BVE did not demonstrate any reliable differences in performance in the recall of reading material, when it was presented both in standard and BVE forms. Apparently, the assumption that the use of dialect materials will facilitate achievement is not substantiated.

There are other problems with this approach, as well. First, it is likely that the negative attitudes surrounding BVE would result in opposition on the part of parents and community leaders to its "perpetuation" in written form in beginning readers. Indeed, attempts to introduce dialect readers even on an experimental basis in the United States have met with much resistance. Second, since there are several regional dialects in the United States, logically these too would have to be presented in beginning readers in their respective locales. The proliferation and expense of additional reading material might well be rejected by taxpayers. Third, the receptive control by BVE speakers over standard English, and the ortghographic consistency across all dialects in American usage* would seem to justify the use of standard dialect materials. Fourth, the absence of any clear-cut evidence to associate dialect with poor-school achievement, as noted earlier, makes questionable the use of instructional materials specifically prepared in dialect.

3. Allow the child to translate materials written in standard dialect into the indigenous dialect.

Goodman (1965) advises that children should be encouraged to read material the way they speak. If the meaning of the passage is not altered, then the child is assumed to have read it successfully. Rigg (1978) notes that dialect miscues occur all the time. The reader normally translates from the extraneous dialect into her or his own dialect. If the passage says, **he's in hospital**, as it might if written by a British author, the American is likely to read it as **he's in the hospital**. While the reader has altered the surface structure, the deep structure or underlying meaning remains intact. Likewise, if a child who speaks BVE read **The dog looks funny** as *The dog he look funny*, there has been no violation of meaning.

Success of this approach will depend on at least two conditions. First, overcoming the resistance of school personnel and parents to what might appear to them as a procedure which reinforces unacceptable linguistic behavior both in those who demonstrate it themselves, and in those who are exposed to it via oral reading. Second, providing teachers with sufficient knowledge of the dialect so they do not equate dialect difference with reading error.

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* Except where an author uses a special spelling to indicate a particular dialect.

4.Use of the language experience approach (LEA).

In this method, beginning reading instruction uses individually - and group-dictated stories as the initial reading material. The material is encoded exactly as it is dictated, preserving all of its dialect features, but translating it into standard spelling. The assumption in this approach is that preserving the essence of the child's language in a meaningful context which represents the child's own experience, makes the best bridge between the oral and written forms of the language.

Smith (1977) however, cautions that the use of orally dictated material might impede children from making the important distinction between spoken and written language. Another factor to be considered in the use of a LEA is the negative reception it might receive for its possible reenforcement of a low-prestige dialect. Despite these qualifications, Hall's review of the research (1977) led her to conclude that the LEA is an effective way to teach reading and related communication skills.

CONCLUSION

While there are advantages and disadvantages associated with each of the four instructional alternatives, there is no hard evidence to support the use of any one of them in teaching reading to speakers of a non-standard dialect such as BVE. Decisions as to which approach to employ must be made then not from empirical data, but on the basis of pedagogical theory and the effect of psychological, social, and political factors.

Emotional and social factors now appear to be more significant in affecting the school performance of nonstandard dialect speakers than linguistic factors. Because the teacher is the primary agent of instruction in schools, and has a great impact on the child's acceptance in school, it is essential that the teacher possess the appropriate knowledges, attitudes, and skills of instruction for nonstandard dialect speakers. Such competencies would fall into three broad categories:

a) linguistic - including an understanding of the nature of language and dialect, and the features of the specific nonstandard dialect of concern;

b) social/psychological - including an understanding of and respect for the cultural context represented by the dialect;

c) pedagogical - including a thorough acquaintance with reading theory and methodology, and special language enrichment stratergies.

Perhaps the flower girl's sentiment is, after all, just a romantic dream. Yet, if we are interested in a world where worth is not measured by how one looks or speaks, then we must build acceptance of diversity, linguistic and otherwise. This is the most basic competence of all.

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BLACK DIALECTS AND READING: A FIRST-LEVEL SOCIOLINGUISTIC CATECHISM

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The findings of the reading section of the National Assessment of Educational Progress (as described by Gallo, 1974) have confirmed what teachers have known for years, namely, that in general black youngsters read less well than white youngsters. In the 1960's, many influential educators and psychologists attempted to explain this fact with the assertion that black children are culturally, linguistically, and cognitively deprived. Since the mid-sixties, however, a new group of scholars and researchers (the sociolinguists) have been advocating a different perspective. Unfortunately, many teachers are not familiar with sociolinguistic points of view on the subject of black dialects and reading. As Ben F. Nelms (1975), editor of **English Education**, has noted:

> *Most preservice and in-service programs of teacher education do not provide adequately for developing teachers' awareness of the sociolinguistic...principles which apply to teaching users of various dialects.*

The following questions and answers (a catechism) are offered with the intention of introducting concerned teachers to some basic sociolinguistic insights on teaching black children to get meaning from written language.

1. Do the findings and recommendations of the sociolinguists lessen the importance of motivation as a factor in teaching black children to read?

No. Psycholinguist Vivian Horner and sociolinguist Joan Baratz (in Cullinan, 1974) feel that motivation is a **primary** factor in teaching reading. Most sociolinguists maintain that reading teachers should not plan lessons which contain slow, boring, and mechanical drills, but rather should organize instruction in ways which are challenging, relevant, and exciting to the children. The sociolinguists feel that black children will best learn to read when they are engaged in meaningful reading, writing, speaking, and listening activities, when they experience success, and when they feel they are trusted. Their classroom performance in reading will improve when they feel they are accepted and appreciated personally, linguistically, and culturally.

2. Are black dialects inferior to standard English?

No, except in social prestige. Black dialects are substantially similar to standard English. They are **different** from standard English, however, in aspects of pronunciation, vocabulary, and syntax. The linguists who have scientifically studied black dialects unanimously agree that the language of blacks is not inferior to the language of whites. Black language, as a device for communication, is as complete as white language. Black dialects are as beautiful and as highly developed as standard English. Black dialects are rule-governed, just as rural New England, North-side Chicago, prestige Charlestonian, and standard (white Anglo) Denver English are rule-governed. The sociolinguists oppose any linguistic theories or reading programs which are based on the misconception that black dialects are inferior to standard English.

3. What do linguists mean by the term **competence?**

By competence, Chomsky and other linguists mean a person's unconscious understanding of the rules which govern the production and comprehension of the sentences of his or her language.

4. Do black children, who speak a black English vernacular, need language development training before learning to read?

No. Sociolinguists maintain that by the age of five or six, normal black children, like all other normal children, have linguistic **competence** and are therefore, adequately developed in language for learning to read.

5. What implication does the concept of competence have for the teaching of initial reading?

Since black children are linguistically competent when they reach first grade, teachers of reading ought to plan instruction in such a way that learning how to read is carried out as an extension and expansion of the black child's **competence**.

6. How can beginning reading be taught as an extension and expansion of linguistic competence?

Basically, in two ways. First, by frequently employing the language experience approach (Stauffer, 1970). This approach to beginning reading is based on the assumption that the pupil's abilities and experiences in language assist him/her in learning how to read. The pupils dictate stories to their teacher. These stories, after they are typed, are then read by the pupils and serve as the basis for reading instruction. As a result of the language experience approach, children should come to understand that reading, especially in the beginning phases, is often a process of turning printed words back into speech and that their oral reading must sound like language and make sense. While employing this approach, the teacher should accept the black child's pronunciation of the words as long as the child grasps the meaning of the sentence. Thus, if a black child does not pronounce the past tense "ed" marker and yet understands that the action occurred in the past, the teacher would not correct his/her reading. Second, by teaching the children to apply graphophonemic, syntactic, and semantic feedback strategies.

7. What are graphophonemic, syntactic, and semantic feedback strategies?

These strategies are tactics readers use to search for the meaning of words they do not recognize at sight. When a first grade black child encounters the sentence "The ducks swim in the water at the park" and cannot read the word **swim**, he or she should, for example, particularly attend to the initial and final consonant sounds of the unknown word (**s** and**m** are graphophonic cues), consider what kind of word **swim** is in terms of its grammatical function and position (syntactic cue) in the sentence, and decide what the word **swim** must mean in light of the preceding considerations in order to make sense (semantic cue) in the context of the reading. By intelligently guessing in these ways, beginning readers will usually acquire enough feedback to discover the meanings of words they did not initially know. Many sociolinguists recommend that teachers of beginning reading should stress the use of the feedback strategies and de-emphasize instruction which is based upon detailed and extended phonemic and structural analyses.

8. How can reading teachers learn more about sociolinguistic viewpoints on the subject of black dialects and reading?

For starters, read the following: Roger D. Abrahams and Rudolph C. Troike's *Language and Cultural Diversity in American Education*(1972); Bradford Arthur's *Teaching English to Speakers of English*(1973); Robbins Burling's *English in Black and White*(1973); and Bernice Cullinan's *Black Dialects and Reading*(1974). Linguist Riley Smith(1975) recommended these titles to specialists in English Education. But reading specialists as well should follow his advice. These books offer teachers few foolproof recipes, but they do provide many basic sociolinguistic understandings that deal directly with the teaching of reading to linguistically different learners.

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BLACK ENGLISH AND THE TEACHING OF SPELLING

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The belief that some kind of special instruction in spelling is required for children who speak a dialect known as "black vernacular English" (BVE) appears to be a logical one. An assumption that the ability to spell English is founded in the ability to use certain oral language could lead to this decision, of course. There are other reasons given as to why children who speak BVE need a different type of instruction in spelling than that given children who speak "standard English"(SE). One of these reasons is the supposedly close relationship between all children's speech "errors" and their spelling.

Speech Errors and Spelling

It is clear that for some time teachers have been told that there is a causal relationship between all children's speech errors and their lack of success in spelling. The warning issued by Boyd and Talbert (1971) to this respect is typical of the many of this nature that have been made. These writers believe that standard English pronunciations give the needed oral and aural clues for successful spelling. To them, nonstandard speech or so-called careless pronunciation leads to spelling errors because words are spelled as they are pronounced. This is not a matter of hearsay or traditional beliefs, Boyd and Talbert further contend. They insist that over the years studies have shown a relationship between errors of speech and spelling. It follows, they continue, that this evidence of a close relationship between speech errors and spelling requires the teacher to give careful attention to pupils' pronunciation in the spelling program

So, before first grade children are given formal spelling instruction, as with spelling textbooks, Boyd and Talbert maintain that they must have first achieved certain pronunciation skills necessary for their success in spelling. Among these spelling readiness factors is the ability to say words properly, i.e., to speak standard English. And, since it is these experts' belief that children who do not say words correctly have not been taught how to make all of the speech sounds accurately, they outline a three-step plan of instruction to correct this assumed shortcoming.

To remedy pronunciation difficulties which relate to spelling the teacher, first, should provide an effective model for pupils to follow. Second, the pupil and teacher should tape record their pronunciations of a word the child mispronounces. Then, the child notes whether his/her pronunciation differs from the standard English of the teacher. Finally, the teacher requires children to pronounce words they have misspelled exactly the way they have written them. These three activities will enable so-called erring pupils to hear and to use standard English pronunciation, Boyd and Talbert reflect. This extra time and effort on the teacher's part is worthwhile, they assure us, since the development of proper pronunciation significantly reduces children's spelling errors. Hanna, Hodges and Hanna (1971) appear to agree in part with this argument. They emphasize that although the use of nonstandard dialects is a normal part of our language, stilted and pedantic pronunciation of a word can be useful for the purposes of mastering spelling. Teaching BVE speaking children to make what are for them artificial pronunciations, they counsel, can prevent spelling problems that stem from dialectal factors.

The Research on Speech and Spelling

The authenticity of these authoritative-sounding conclusions are highly reduced, if not dashed, however, by an examination of the research findings on the relationships of children's speech errors and their spelling. There is no overwhelming evidence that children's speech errors cause spelling errors. Instead of support for the notion of a causal connection here one finds disappointingly little evidence from experimental studies that suggests the relationship between speech and spelling as seen by Boyd and Talbert (1971) and other writers of their persuasion. Instead, this research (Groff, 1973) tells us that few children given remedial spelling instruction are found to have speech defects. Children with delayed speech also make no more spelling errors deemed to be phonetic errors, it has been shown, than do children with normal speech. Other children, who were found to be retarded in spelling achievement, were not seen to have lesser speech ability than were children who were good spellers. Then, the author of one of the studies that Boyd and Talbert cite as supportive of their position actually comments to the opposite on this issue. Russell(1937) concluded that while the standard English pronunciation of words by pupils appears to aid their study of the spellings of words this does not necessarily imply that nonstandard speech causes errors in spelling. Yet another researcher (Ham, 1958) discovered no relationship between spelling errors and the mispronunciation of words. He noted that the child who said **wabbit-rabbit**, for example, was more likely to misspell the word than the child who said the word correctly. The misspelling this former child made, however, never involved the **w/r** substitution. Other evidence of the uncertain nature of the relationship of children's speech and spelling comes from the findings that deaf children actually spell better than do normal

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hearing pupils. It is reasonable to conclude that the research evidence, on the whole, does not point to a clear or close relationship between children's spelling errors and their speech errors (Groff,1973).

In effect, an examination of the research of this issue tends to void the contention that the spelling of children who make the so-called errors found in BVE will be improved if they would "correct" their pronunciation of words. Knowing this allows us to avoid the argument, at this point at least, of whether the speakers of BVE do in fact make pronunciation "errors." Substantial arguments have been made by linguists, of course, that they do not make pronunciation errors, as such, since the articulation of BVE follows as deliberate and complex a set of phonological rules as does the oral language of SE. In any case, for the purposes of this discussion it is useful not to have to engage in the intricacies of what is "correct" and "incorrect" pronunciation. Since the research suggests that dialect correction, reform, improvement, or whatever name such change is given is not related to spelling success, our path toward the solution of the question as to whether children who speak BVE need any kind of special instruction in spellng is smoothed somewhat.

The recommendation that the spelling of children who speak BVE will improve if they change the way they pronounce words also will be rejected if one listens to the opinion of linguists. For example, Brengelman (1970) assures us that it has not been shown that any peculiar dialect fits the spelling system so much better than any other one that an intensive effort to teach that dialect for the purposes of spelling would be justified. Boyd and Talbert's (1971) notion that teaching pupils to pronounce words for spelling purposes as close as possible to their spellings thus can be found at fault on yet other grounds.

Then, the amounts of time and effort on the teacher's part it would take to reform the phonological system of children who speak BVE, so that it conformed to the SE teacher's speech sound system, obviously would take insight and knowledge of the two different phonologies that are likely to be beyond the abilities of most teachers. As well, this task must be compared to that of learning the speech sounds found in a foreign language. The difficulty that speech therapists have in ridding a child who speaks SE of errors of articulation further reminds us of the difficulty of this task, and the costs in teacher time that would be involved.

Beyond this, there are overtones of ethnic or social superiority that inevitably accompany any correction by a public school teacher of a black child's dialect, regardless of the purposes for which this is made. It is noticeable that minority groups have protested unreasonable criticisms of their culture by members of the predominant society or by agencies established by it. It appears, then that if parents of black children learn that they may rightly object to the school's attempts to reform their children's dialects, under the guise of a program to improve spelling, that protests against this standardization of speech will grow rather than diminish in the future.

BVE and Spelling Errors

Although the hypothesis that children's speech errors negatively affect their spelling has not been convincingly proved, this is not to say that children's dialects and their spelling are altogether unrelated. Graham and Rudorf (1970) discovered that some aspects of the dialects of children from different parts of the country did influence their spelling. They found that children in Ohio, Georgia and Massachusetts did spell certain vowel sounds differently from each other. Of significance here, however, was their finding that these spelling differences did not seem to favor the children from one section of the country over those of any other section.

In addition to this study there have been other attempts to study the specific relationship of the effect of BVE dialect on the spelling of elementary school age children. One of these studies (Sullivan, 1971) appears to be weakened by shortcomings in its design. This study of the phonological differences and spelling errors of black children concluded that spelling teachers should conduct special standard English oral language activities with them as a means of improving their spelling. The defects in the design of this study tend to invalidate its advice, however.

The other studies on this issue are better designed, so that more confidence can be placed in their findings. One of these (Kligman, **et al.**, 1972) tested second grade black children from low-income predominantly black schools. It was decided that these children spoke forty-three features of BVE. Three words exemplifying each of these features formed the content of a 129-item multiple-choice spelling test that was then administered to these children. Table 1 gives an example of one word (of the three) that was used to test each of these forty-three features of BVE. Alongside each of these words, e.g., **side,** are the BVE-related spelling errors that were made with it, e.g., **sie, site.** This study found that the black children it tested made at least 10 percent BVE-related errors on each of thirty-eight of the forty-three groups of words (three words to a group) that exemplified the features of BVE. The percentages of these dialect related errors are given in parenthesis in Table 1.

Table 1. Forty-three Features of Black Vernacular English and Their Spellings

1. side: **sie, site** (25%)
2. rob: **rah, rop** (20) (15)
3. sheet: **shee, sheed** (15)
4. less: **leh** (4)
5. buzz: **buh, buss** (22)
6. dear: **deah** (9)
7. bell: **beh** (5)
8. wing: **wih, win**(13)
9. keeping: **keepin** (14)
10. mouth: **mouf, mout** (34)
11. nest: **nes, neh** (12)
12. rent: **ret, ren** (16)
13. wild: **wide, wile** (26)
14. hard: **hod, har** (13)
15. warm: **wam** (6)
16. bulb: **bub** (25)
17. mix.: **misk, mis** (13)
18. there: **dere** (11)
19. throat: **thoat, troat** (27)
20. den: **din, dem** (28)
21. wet: **wit** (11)
22. bear: **beer** (13)
23. poor: **pore** (21)
24. spill: **speel** (24)
25. bite: **bat, bot** (13)
26. pink: **pank** (13)
27. noise: **nause** (7)
28. hatched: **hatch** (47)
29. moved: **move** (30)
20. waited: **wait** (19)
31. meets: **meet** (10)
32. cleans: **clean, cleaze** (26)
33. lips: **lip, lis** (22)
34. fires: **fore, fize** (24)
35. dresses: **dress** (23)
36. tests: **test, tesses** (39)
37. Pat's: **Pat, Pah's** (16)
38. king's: **king, kih's** (21)
39. ours: **our, owse** (27)
40. your: **you** (15)
41. she's: **she** (21)
42. we'll: **we** (22)
43. they're: **they** (22)

The BE speaking pupils in this study were also found to make significantly more BE related errors on this test than did a group of white SE speaking children.

Two of the authors of the above study (Kligman and Cronnell, 1974) also compared the dialect-related spelling errors of second grade pupils who spoke BVE and those of white children in the same grade who spoke SE. Instead of responding to a multiple-choice spelling test their subjects now wrote in the missing words that fitted blanks in sentences as these sentences were read aloud to them. The average number of BVE-related spelling errors by the BVE speaking pupils in this study was found to be significantly higher than the average of such errors made by the children who spoke SE.

In addition, Cronnell (1973) used the second grade subjects in the previous study (Kligman and Cronnell, 1974) to find the incidence of BVE-related spelling errors on words ending in the consonant /s/, as in **bites** and **pets**, and on words ending in the consonant cluster /st/, as in **chased** and **past**. He discovered that for BVE speaking children 61 percent of the spelling errors on these words were BVE-related errors. Such wrong responses constituted only 22 percent of the errors of the SE speaking children in this study.

Finally, I (Groff, 1978) attempted to answer the question, "Does the number of BVE-related spelling errors found in the second grade by the above three studies (Kligman, *et al.;* 1972; Kligman and Cronnell, 1974; Cronnell, 1973) continue for the BVE-speaking pupils into the middle grades?" For this purpose I had inner-city, low-income black pupils in the middle grades who spoke BVE spell in written form the multiple-choice test words used in the Kligman, Cronnell and Verna study (1972). I found that the BVE-related spelling errors previously found to be made by second grade BVE-speaking children did not persist in large part into the spellings of middle-grade BVE-speaking pupils. My BVE-speaking middle-graders exhibited BVE-related spelling errors, of 10 percent or more, on words that exemplified only six feature (out of forty-three) of dialect. These words and the types and percents of BVE spelling errors made on them are (item numbers refer to those given in Table 1):

24. spill: **speel** (10%)
28. hatched: **hatch** (20%)
29. moved: **move** (17%)
33. lips: **lip, lis** (33%)
34. fires: **fire, fize** (10%)
36. tests: **test, tesses** (45%)

My investigation thus indicated that only a few features of BVE continue by the middle grades to have a significant effect on the spelling of BVE-speaking children. These spellings were: (1) with words that rhyme with **spill;** (2) with words that have the suffix *ed,* as in **hatched** and **moved;** and (3) with words that end in **s,** as in **lips, fires,** and **tests.**

One other set of findings about BVE-related spelling errors is in evidence. DeStefano (1972) concluded that the most significant difference in the collection of black fifth-graders' syntactic forms she studied was the absence of the third person singular, present tense, **-s** inflection in the speech as versus the writings of these black children. She noted that the absence of this form accounts for 45 percent of their entire nonstandard speech forms and for 60 percent of their speech verb forms, but for zero percent of their written forms. DeStefano reports that this **-s** inflection was not absent once in the writings of these children. She thus considers it was easily learned in this written form. The findings of Kligman, Cronnell and Verna (1972), however, suggest that this learning is not quite so easy for second grade BVE-speaking children. They found 18 percent BVE-related spelling errors for **-s**, with words like **meets** and **cleans,** for these children. Then, 6.5 percent of the middle grade BVE speakers in my study (Groff, 1978) left off the **-s** in such words. DeStefano (1972) also noted that the absence of **-ed** (/d, t, ed/) in speech accounted for only 2 percent of the total nonstandard forms used by her child subjects. But in writing she found that these two types of absences accounted for 8 percent of the total nonstandard forms. Again, the degree of BVE-related spelling errors found for words like **hatched, moved** and **waited** in Kligman, Cronnell and Verna's study (1972) and in my study (Groff, 1978) were higher, 32 and 13 percent, respectively.

Implications for Teaching

There are several implications for teachers of the research described so far (and apparently this is all that has been done with children on the present issue). One of these we have discussed previously. This is the unlikelihood that attempts by teachers to reform or otherwise change BVE-speaking children's dialects will have a favorable effect on their spelling. One set of researchers, whose study is described above, agrees that any focus on strengthening the BVE speaker's command of SE pronunciation in order to improve spelling is a questionable procedure (Kligman, **et al.**, 1972).

On the other hand, it appears that if second grade teachers accepted the criterion of 10 percent BVE-related spelling errors as a sign that some special instruction in spelling is needed for their pupils who speak BVE, then almost all the words in Table 1 (and the other words that are exemplars of these features of BVE) would require distinctively different teaching than is traditionally given. (If 20 percent BVE-related spelling errors became this standard then twenty-two of the words in Table 1 could be said to require special instruction.) In fact, this is what the researchers of two of the above studies (Kligman and Cronnell, 1974) think should be the appropriate reaction by the teacher of such children to this research. They advise that special instruction for BE speakers should be given to all features corresponding to BVE pronunciations which differ from SE.

But as noted in my study of this problem (Groff, 1978), by the time BVE-speaking children are in the middle grades only a few of the features of their dialect appear to affect the way they spell words. It appears that by the time BVE-speaking children reach the middle grades their use of BVE will not cause enough difficulty to justify any large-scale pedagogical concern. Apparently, middle-grade pupils who speak BVE somehow largely overcome the influences of this dialect on their spelling. In my study this accomplishment occurred in spite of the fact that the spelling text (Kottmeyer and Claus, 1968) used for the instruction of the BVE pupils contained only a small amount of information on BVE for the teacher, as well as a low level of accuracy about such information that it does present (Cronnell, 1971). These pupils learned their spelling in a traditional spelling curriculum with a conventional spelling textbook. Despite the lack of any extraordinary training on the special way they speak and its connection with the way words are spelled, however, they were able to overcome all but a few of the influences of BVE on spelling that had been found to occur with second grade BVE speakers.

These findings imply that spelling teachers of BVE-speaking children in the primary grades should reconsider the advice that they construct, plan for, and implement a massive special program in spelling for children in these grades that involves all the features of BVE. Instead it seems more reasonable to suggest that teachers of primary grade and middle grade BVE-speaking children concentrate only on helping these children spell the kinds of words shown to be susceptible to the influences of BVE in the middle grades.

Learning to Spell Words Influenced by BVE

There are several appropriate procedures for helping BVE-speaking children from grade two onward to spell words that have been shown to be vulnerable to the influences of BVE. To repeat, however, this should not include any attempt to revamp or otherwise modify the phonology or articulation of the child who speaks BVE. The exclusion of this inappropriate action still leaves many productive activities to help the BVE-speaking child spell better.

One of these is to design instruction aimed at convincing this child that the spelling of words that tend to be influenced by the BVE (e.g., **spill, hatched, moved, lips, fires, tests**) actually is a systematic matter. It must be demonstrated for the child, first, that these words can be spelled in a predictable manner. This means that the spelling teacher should present words in large numbers that rhyme with spill, for example, and which are spelled predictably. Monosyllabic words of this kind are recommended for this use over polysyllabic words for beginning lessons since the latter have been calculated to be twice as difficult to spell, on the average, as are the former (Groff, 1977). To impress the child with the predictable nature of spelling, some lessons should be made up exclusively of words that serve as exemplars or models of **one** kind of words that are affected by BVE. Lists of words which the child may know would be useful to include in such lessons. Table 2 presents such lists.

Lists of words such as found in Table 2 should be presented **en masse** to BVE-speaking children to study and spell. If these children study large numbers of one type of BVE-related spelling error words (e.g., Those that rhyme with **spill**), this extensive exercise may be more likely to bring the desired results in their spelling than if several types of BVE-related spelling words were presented together in a single lesson. It is important to remember, too, that the major goal of such lessons is not to determine if all the letters of each word studied are spelled correctly. Rather, the instruction here is aimed principally at teaching the child to spell a key

Table 2. **Words for Lessons on BVE Related Spelling Errors**

spill /ll/	**hatched /t/**	**moved /d/**	**lips /s/ fires /z/**	**tests /sts/**
bill	asked	bloomed	any monosyllabic word that ends in -s.	blasts
chill	bounced	cooled		boasts
dill	bumped	dreamed		costs
drill	cooked	drugged		crusts
fill	crossed	fibbed		dusts
frill	crushed	formed		chests
grill	dressed	hugged		coasts
hill	ducked	leaned		frosts
ill	dropped	loaned		jests
kill	fixed	lined		lasts
mill	hiked	named		nests
pill	hoped	nudged		pests
quill	kicked	peeled		posts
shrill	leaked	pleased		rests
sill	liked	plowed		roasts
skill	looked	posed		tests
spill	missed	robbed		toasts
still	pitched	rubbed		trusts
swill	placed	roamed		vests
thrill	raked	seemed		contests
till	ripped	shelled		detests
trill	shaped	stubbed		disgusts
will	soaked	used		distrusts
fulfill	sniffed	waved		protests
instill	wrecked	weaved		suggests
refill				

letter (e.g., the **l** in **spill**, the **ed** in **bounced** or **bloomed**, the **s** in **lips** and **fires** or the **sts** in **tests**.) The criterion set for this activity is whether BVE-speaking children after studying such words in concentrated numbers can then correctly spell these selected parts in future lists or in written compositions. The objective here is to determine if transfer from the learning condition to a later performance situation has taken place. As with any other learning activity, it should be expected that both progress and regression(i.e., forgetting) will take place. It is predictable, nonetheless, that if instruction of the nature outlined above is given, that this instruction will significantly reduce the percentages of BVE-related spelling errors presently found for the words in question (e.g., **spill, hatched, moved, lips, fires, tests**, or other such written exemplars of BVE).

The suggestions given for these six kinds of words could be extended, of course, to include any other number of BVE-related spelling error words. For example, if a primary grade teacher is convinced that more than the six BVE-related spelling error words discussed here should receive special instruction, lists of words which are exemplars for other BVE-related spelling errors could be constructed and used, much in the same way as is described above. The major question about extending the number of BVE-related spelling errors words that can be taught is whether or not this special instruction is necessary. It appears that except for a few instances, the ordinary spelling curriculum may act to reduce the influence of BVE on children's spelling to a satisfactory degree. Teachers of BVE-speaking children in the primary grades should consult Table 1, however, and decide for themselves how many of the BVE-related spelling error words should be taught. This decision must become a matter of the discretion of individual teachers, it should be emphasized.

A second major objective of any special spelling activities for BVE-speaking children is to have these pupils listen to their particular pronunciations of words and to relate these peculiar soundings to the standard spelling of words. Accordingly, it is critical that the teacher of such children have them say aloud to themselves, before they spell, the words the teacher knows are likely to be influenced by BVE. To this point, it often is said that the spelling of vowel phonemes is more difficult for children than is the spelling of consonants. However, from Table 1 it can be seen that of the BVE-related spelling error words that constitute 10 percent or more BVE-related spelling errors, only eleven of these involve vowel sounds. The remaining such errors are related to consonant sounds. This suggests that the spelling of consonants posed a greater problem, for these second graders at least, than did the spelling of vowels.

But since SE-speaking teachers sometimes will not give either the consonant or the vowel soundings the BVE-speaking children do in these words, it become imperative that these children hear their own pronunciations of these words as they attempt to spell them. For example, it would be preferable to have these chilren dictate spelling tests to their peers rather than to have the SE-speaking teacher do this. Also, at various points in the spelling lesson, the SE-speaking teacher should pause to have a BVE-speaking child pronounce the word being taught. In this way these children hear both the BVE and SE versions of these words. This is vital for them if they are to make successful translations of the SE-speaking teacher's dialect.

It has been further recommended by Hanna, et al. (1971), and properly so, that all pupils learning to spell should learn to identify and say the phonemes (speech sounds) as they occur first in initial, middle and final positions in monosyllabic words. It is crucial to note that this should be done **within** words, however, and not with isolated speech sounds (which seldom if ever can be made corectly outside the syllable). While this is good advice, again, such instruction may be difficult for the SE-speaking teacher. To put this suggestion into proper practice these teachers must constantly enlist the phonology of the BVE-speaking children they instruct.

Beyond this, it goes without saying that teachers of spelling to BVE-speaking children should be careful to maintain the best scope and sequence of spelling activities available (Hanna, et al., 1971) and to use effective teaching techniques (Anderson and Groff, 1968). They will, of course, condition BVE-speaking children to practice the standard study steps for spelling a word, i.e., say the word, look at it, write it, proofread it, identify any error, and repeat the cycle if necessary. If special programs in spelling for the BVE-speaking child that are used have their foundations in a well-planned program of standard spelling instruction, their chances for success are highly improved.

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THE USE OF STREET GAMES IN LANGUAGE PROGRAMS

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Educators are reexamining what is basic and natural for the child in order to find the foundation on which to develop language programs in today's classrooms. One of the approaches used is to refocus on childlore. Researchers are not only interested in the "what and how" of the children's activities but also their implications for teaching and learning. Many of the activities in which children actively participate are folk games.

THE NATURE OF FOLK GAMES

Two characteristics of traditional folk games are first, that although folk games have rules, they are not written down and second, that they represent play unsupervised by adults. The games are governed by children's rules and procedures, and the styling is absolutely unique. There never seems to be intense argument about rules, however.Children change them as needed, make additional ones, create punative measures for those who cheat, and learn a great deal about social behavior while involved in such play. The games are usually spontaneous, and it is unusual for children to allow adults to engage them in this kind of play.

It is difficult to trace the specific origins of street games in their entirety, since bits and pieces have been borrowed and changed from culture to culture. But, upon examination of the tradition of singing games, we see evidence of a combination of European and African culture here in America. The games, though basically for entertainment, serve many needs.

In a recent publication, Herbert and Mary Knapp (1977) discuss some reasons for children becoming involved in street games. Participation provides an arena for children gossiping and playing tricks on each other. These games also give children the opportunity to communicate with friends of their own choosing and to break off the communication merely through the process of exclusion. Observation of children engaged in street games certainly attests to these findings.

THE STYLE OF STREET GAMES

While singing games and street games of yesterday were generally of line or ring formation, children of today are not bound to those formations, and a game can, and usually does, begin with a cluster of children standing around in a group. The verbal performance is either chant, choral participation or call and response. The phrases are echoed both in singing and movement patterns. While musical expressiveness is not a major feature, melody is included, and words and music are highly repetitious. The most significant aspect of street games today is synchronization of body movements and words. Stylistically, by their music and kinesic elements, many street games seem clearly African oriented, or at least Afro-American.

As a rule, more female children become involved in street games than males. Recently however, with the trend toward eliminating sex biases in games, young boys are becoming more involved, and while they will not allow themselves to be seen in the school yard, they do participate but more covertly than girls. Older males and females are also becoming interested in the games, although merely to test their verbal and motor coordination. The younger children usually become involved between five and seven years of age. By the time they are twelve or thirteen, the games are abandoned and passed on to younger children.

Street games are part of the oral tradition of our culture. Singing games were once played by black and white children alike, but today they have all but vanished from the Anglo-American community leaving a large part of this tradition to blacks. For many lower, to lower-middle-class children, street games may constitute one of their major forms of entertainment. Typically, therefore, in densely populated low-to middle-income residential areas of blacks, one hears strains of "Mary Mack", "Head and Shoulder", or other such street games. Black youngsters in large urban dwellings, and in the play yards outside of city and country schools occupy themselves in street games as a regular pastime.

Though seemingly non-structured to adults, street games are highly structured by the youngsters who play them - with knowledge of props, rules and ring or line formation being common to all participants. Though many of their lyrics indicate British origin, at least half are indigenous to the United States. While lyrics of street games have been recorded in book and record form, little attention has been given the topic as a genuine aspect of childlore. Not only are street games a significant aspect of black childlore, but they convey a natural form of language which is significant for the language development and communication process of black children. Hand jive, which accompanies street games, is still another dimension of communication.

Teachers are usually unaware of any educational possibilities of children's involvement in street games. To the child, it's fun and games, a way of entertaining oneself, a test of hand and speech coordination, a matter of keeping the rhythm, and a great deal of laughter if one misses a single word or movement. Many teachers are completely unaware of children's involvement in games. One can only assume that membership in another culture and/or class has inhibited their knowledge of this activity. Street games usually incorporate a black vernacular English dialect. Such dialect is often heard in black song, poetry, or folktales, as well.Although these non-teacher directed games in the child's natural language offer a viable means of communication for the children involved, teachers have found ways of incorporating all of the other media into their daily curriculum except street games. Therefore the remainder of this essay will focus on language competence as demonstrated through street games and activity songs sung traditionally by blacks, and explore possibilities for their use in developing language programs in the classroom.

Tompkinson (1965) discusses the necessity for spoken English in primary education. Teachers of language arts realize the importance of verbal communication and strive daily to develop programs which will encourage children to communicate openly and freely. If this process is to be implemented for children in the classroom then the language of the child in play activity as well as formal situations, must be accepted.

In general, teachers of very young children in Nursery Schools, Pre-Kindergarten and Kindergartens, show expertise in using language which children bring to school to develop language programs. Oral language development is encouraged through providing the child opportunities to verbalize through telling about experiences, through use of rhymes, listening to folk-tales, and even listening to, and creating nonsense verse, among other activities. Inadvertently, teachers become involved in alliteration of language, rhythm of language, and other phonetic qualities, without ever planning to. Often, however, by the first or second grade level, childen begin to experience rigid controls on the use of their native language. Parents and teachers become concerned with a desire for a verbal performance which shows evidence of being "correct". I would suggest that teachers expand their existing language programs to include language in its natural form as used outside of the school, particularly as indicated in street games. Language in the natural form could be used as a vehicle for helping the youngster see the differences that exist between informal language or dialect, and formal language, either oral or written.

Teachers, however, must be aware of, and accept the fact that most of these games are in dialect and they should plan for, or expect the children to change their language usage when involved in such play. Although there is a strong possibility that the child's use of dialect is the reason why teachers do not encourage use of these games in the classroom, another reason could be their lack of knowledge about dialect in general, and/or an inability to plan effective use of natural language in the classroom. In short, teachers of young children can benefit from listening intently to these games in order to hear their phonetic and lyrical qualities, and to observe the verbal and physical interaction. In so doing, teachers might begin to appreciate the ethnic traditions of the children involved, for street games provide important insights into the child's ethnicity.

STRENGTH IN DIVERSITY

Street games are filled with language diversities; both phonetic and syntactic. To change the natural language form would destroy the rhythm and flow of the games. For children who become engaged in such play, there is tremendous strength in this diversified language system. The children who become involved are unaware of the language variations in the street games because they don't see them as variations at all. To them, it is their natural language. For the purpose of street games this natural, ethnic language is "correct", and the language form is different because it is derived from a different culture and life style.

Street game players demonstrate a linguistic competence of which most teachers are unaware. Youngsters work extremely hard at developing explicit language patterns and the ability to pronounce the words without breaking the rhythm. One simply must not miss a clap, or accompanied syncopated words, for to do so creates a great deal of laughter. Sometimes, to our surprise, children who are seemingly non-verbal can be heard chanting rhythmically and using a variety of difficult phonetic patterns. Through these street games and songs, children demonstrate a real oral language competence which can be the basis for development of standard English language programs.

FROM STREET TO CLASSROOM

While I do not support the notion that teachers of young children need to speak dialect in order to communicate with them, I would certainly advocate complete knowledge of these street games. This includes the teacher's ability to perform the games with the children. Through this involvement, the teacher will be accomplishing a number of things. First, she/he will begin to establish rapport with the child immediately. Though difficult to master, the youngster will stick with you until you the teacher have demonstrated competence. Second, the teacher will be participating in the same linguistic experience as the child. This will help to develop in the teacher an appreciation for the child's ability to perform in this manner. Third, this involvement will enable the teacher to verbalize using the same language structure or syntax that the child uses in any given game. Last, the teacher should become aware of these street games and allow the child to share this creativity with others in the classroom and in schools. Street games may be treated exactly like other poetry and music in the classroom.

AUDITORY AND VISUAL APPRECIATION

Use of the tape recorder is undoubtedly one of the best devices available to enable children to hear exactly what they say and how they sound. First they should be allowed to make the tape, saying the words in the street game. The next step would be to allow the child to use the tape to teach the street game to a child who does not already know it. After this interaction between the children, it will then be possible to present a few clear and distinct tasks. In essence, the teaching material then becomes the words of the street game.

COMPETENCIES AND STRATEGIES FOR USING STREET GAMES IN THE CLASROOM

AUDITORY APPRECIATION AND DISCRIMINATION

Have the child tape his/her rendition of the street game.

Have the child listen to the sound and rhythm, with other children.

Note: The words and music of the street game then become the material used for teaching. Assign tasks to children, using this material.

Task	**Competency**	**Strategy**
I	a) The child will be able to identify sounds heard in the recordings of the street games, e.g., claps, clicks, snapping fingers. b) The child will develop good listening habits through identifying	Ask the child to listen for the matching words. A child may work with another child or with an adult. Adult records the rhyming words indicated by the child. Write each word on a separate card.

	rhyming words of street games i.e., black back, Mack.	
II	The child will demonstrate his, her understanding of word meanings.	Ask the child to find or draw pictures representing the words, and match them to the words. Using words and pictures, make a word-picture matching game.
III	c) The child will be able to identify the beginning consonant sound of each rhyming word in the street game. E.g., Imbileenie, Kissaleenie.	Ask the child to listen to the tape and indicate the beginning consonant sounds he/she hears. Sounds may be recorded by child or adult using hand method.

VISUAL DISCRIMINATION

I	a) The child will demonstrate knowledge of beginning consonants.	Ask the child to match beginning sounds with pictures previously collected or drawn.
II	b) The child will demonstrate sequence of hand movements and describe symbols she/he observes being drawn on chart. E.g. "two hands clapping."	"Charting" Street games (picture symbols) to chart and teach the hand-jive movement, have the child do the following: 1. verbalize the instructions. 2. show the movement e.g., performance 3. child observes teacher drawing symbols in proper position on chart. e.g., hands drawn being clapped together. 4. assist a group of children in following directions of symbols to learn the movement.

III	c) The child will be able to decode symbols observed on chart, to apply proper hand movements.	Chart the street games using standard English. Use letter symbols to code hand movement. Place the code directly above words. Ask children to read the chart.

As children get into the rhythm of the street games they will probably **switch** to dialect. This means that they are **recoding** the information into their ethnic language or the natural form.

Additional strategies for using street games are:

- developing oral speaking in the classroom
- dramatizing of street games
- creating one's own street games
- developing vocabulary skills
- extending concepts to other curriculum areas, e.g., social studies, art, music
- making booklets depicting culture of people represented
- using instruments to enhance rhythm of street games.

We have already established the point that street games will be said in dialect. Now that we're discussing the possibility of charting them we're faced with a new issue. Are we invading the privacy of the child if we edit the chart? It is my contention that we probably are, but I consider it is a worthwhile intervention. If we can bring the child further into the school society through incorporating much of his/her culture in the curriculum, I think we can safely edit experience charts. Reading specialists have found that children have no trouble with experience charts that are edited and are usually unconscious of it (Rogers, 1976). Research on reading and orthography indicates that black dialect speaking children themselves recode some written work in thought and syntax depending on the passage assigned to read. They can however, thoroughly handle material written in traditional orthography even while speaking in dialect (Mays, 1975).

STREET GAME SPECIFICS

Street games can be demonstrated in the form of rhyming words and hand jive, circle games, call and response games, line games and chants. The most outstanding recorder of street games in America is Ella Jenkins. She has engaged children in the kinds of games listed above, all around the world. Her counterpart in the Carribean is Louise Bennett. Together they have made a substantial contribution to the field of music in general and to the street game aspect of black folk music in particular.

In a workshop conducted by Jenkins, she described ways to help children improve their sense of rhythm, and indicated that this involvement would help to create an awareness of the rhythmic patterns in everyday life. Her musical goals are to inform, to involve and stimulate children to enjoy music in a natural and easy way.

She emphasizes that the language of folk song appeals to all children, even non-English speaking or dialect-speaking children. Children with language barriers often experience a real break-through when involved in song. In street games, as with any call and response game, children readily supply expected responses in a natural, enthusiastic manner.

Performers like Ella Jenkins and Louise Bennett demonstrate teaching of songs using approaches quite similar to those used in the classroom. Employing the rote method, in call-response games, children are asked to "say it right back to me". The children then follow the leader in words, music, and rhythm.

Much of the Jamacian and American black folk songs and street games show no authorship, but are handed down from generation to generation. Many are very old, in strong dialect and retain much of the African (Ashanti) flavor. American ring games are called "Ring Plays", because the majority of players usually stand in a circle. These same games in Jamaica are called "Ring Ding" or "Moonshine Darlin", the latter because they're sometimes played on moonlit nights in the hills of the island. Men, women and children congregate by the roadside, in back yards or any convenient spot to play games and tell stories as long as the moon lasts.

An example of a Jamacian circle game is the following:

There's a Brown Girl in the Ring

There's a brown girl in the ring,
tra-la-la-la-la
(repeat two times)

For she like sugar and I like plum.
Verse variations:

Den you show me your motion etc.
tra-la-la-la-la
(repeat two times)

Den you skip across the ocean etc.

Den you wheel and take your partner etc.

Den you stand and face your partner etc.

There's a brown girl in the ring etc.

This circle game is similar to "Show Me Your Motion" etc., and a variety of other circle games played in the United States. In all of these songs, the action is dictated by the words even though one is allowed some creativity in choice of the motion.

A favorite street game of black children in the North and South is the traditional "Miss Mary Mac". This favorite can be heard daily in school yards or wherever black children gather. Variations of "May-ree Mack" can even be heard on remote places such as John's Island and other islands which are the chain of Sea Islands extending from North Carolina to Georgia. Those areas were once a haven for runaway slaves. Blacks lived there somewhat as indigenous people, working on plantations and in nearby Charleston, S.C. John's Island was relatively isolated from the mainland until the 1930's when bridges and causeways were built. Strains of the African tongue can still be found in the language pattern and style of these indigenous people. On these marshy-grassy terrained islands, the people have come to know and understand the importance and the meaning of music in a folk community, as they hear it performed in its natural surrounding.

Following are two versions of "Miss Mary Mack". Northern black children use the first version, while Southern children have adopted the second version.

Version I "Mary Mack"(Northern)

Miss Mary Mack Mack, Mack ALL dressed in
black, black, black with (silver) (48 buttons,
buttons, buttons ALL down her back, back, back
She asked her mother, mother, mother for fifty
cents, cents, cents to see the elephant, elephant,
elephant Jump the fence, fence, fence He
jumped so high, high, high He touched the sky,
sky, sky And he never come back, back, back
Till the 4th of July, July, July (Many end
variations)

1) July can't walk, etc. •
July can't talk, etc.
July can't eat with a knife and fork

2) She went upstairs, stairs, stairs
to make her bed etc.
She hit her head etc.
On a piece of corn bread, etc.

Version II "May-ree Mack"(Southern) sung in dialect

May-ree Mack
Dressed in black
Buttons all up and down her back
Hi-yo, hi-yo, hi-yo, hi-yo
(originally hi-y'all)

Gimme a nickle
Gimme a dime
See my honey-baby
All the time
Hi-yo, hi-yo, hi-yo, hi-yo
Went to the Rivah (river)
Couldn't get' cross
Got in trouble
With my boss
Hi-yo, hi-yo, hi-yo, hi-yo

The hand jive street games are traditionally played with two children facing each other with hands "ready". This is the hand jive for the Northern version of "Miss Mary Mack":
(Two children stand facing each other)

1st child	Miss:	(1)	right hand touching your left shoulder
2nd child	Ma-	(2)	left hand touching right shoulder
alone	ry-:	(3)	both hands clapped in front of face
1st and	Mack	(4)	clap right hands together in crossing action
2nd child	Mack	(5)	clap left hands together, same way
together	Mack:	(6)	clap right hands together again
	All:		
	dressed:		
	in:		repeat 1st six movements
	black:		now and for each additional verse
	black:		
	black		

Another favorite among blacks around our country is **Head and Shoulders.**

In children's words "It goes like this"

Head and shoulder baby, 1, 2, 3,
Head and shoulder baby, 1, 2, 3,
Head and shoulder
Head and shoulder
Head and shoulder baby, 1, 2, 3,

Knee and ankles baby, 1, 2, 3, (etc.,)

Ankles and toes baby, 1, 2, 3,

Hand Jive for "Head and Shoulder":

"Head 'n' shoulder" Using right-hand, touch head and shoulder
baby: clap hands together with your right hand
1: clap partners right-hand
2: clap your hands together
with your left and, clap your
partner's left hand
3: clap your hands together
with right hand, clap partner's right hand

These old street games are really quite simple, and children participate with tremendous ease. Another old one with simple movements is:

"I won't Go to Macy's"

I won't go to Macy's
Any more, more, more
Ther's a big fat policeman
At the door, door, door
He'll ketch (catch) you by the calla (collar)
And make you pay a dolla
So I won't go to Macy's
Any more, more, more.

Imbileenie

This clapping chant has many versions and involves finger-snapping and slapping the thigh as well as the usual formations.

Imbileenie, Kissaleenie
Oo-pa papaleenie
achie pachie liberachie (Liberace?)
I love you.
Take a peach, take a plum
Take a piece of bubble gum.
I saw you with your boyfriend
Last night
How do you know?
I peeked through the window saying
Nosey
Give me some candy
Greedy
Washing those dishes
Lazy
I bought me a monkey
I fed him in the country
I raised him up on gingerbred
Along came a susu
And kicked him in the booboo
And now my monkey is dead.

Pizza Pizza Daddy-O

This particular street game is popular in the Los Angeles, California, area but has been heard frequently in Georgia and South Carolina. Pizza Pizza is a ring game with a leader in the middle who calls out the steps. Frequently the first line of the song varies with the name of the child in this central position. The last eight lines of the game refer to popular social dance steps and change in order to remain current.

Mary had a baby (Tanya, Sherry, etc.)
  Pizza Pizza daddy-o
How you know it?
  Pizza Pizza daddy-o
Cause she told me
  Pizza Pizza daddy-o
What's his name
  Pizza Pizza daddy-o
Jessie James
  Pizza Pizza daddy-o

What's special
    Pizza Pizza daddy-o
Toilet tissue
    Pizza Pizza daddy-o
Let's jerk it
    Pizza Pizza daddy-o
Let's swim it
    Pizza Pizza daddy-o
Let's skate it
    Pizza Pizza daddy-o
Let's freak it
    Pizza Pizza daddy-o
Let's twine it
    Pizza Pizza daddy-o
Let's bat it
    Pizza Pizza daddy-o
Let's fan it
    Pizza Pizza daddy-o
Let's spin it
    Pizza Pizza daddy-o

Black dialect speaking children perceive the language they use in a positive way. They can indeed become competent in all language areas in the classroom as long as they are encouraged to continue to use their dialect in appropriate settings. Street games constitute one of these settings. It is extremely important to maintain positive feelings about one's language. As Moumouni (1968) observes, one's native tongue frequently provides the best vehicle for expressing intimate thoughts. Dialects have great emotional significance because they contain the voices of family members and friends closest to us, and are tied to our deepest memories.

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THE USE OF BLACK RHETORICAL AND VERBAL STRATEGIES IN THE TEACHING OF COMPOSITION

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When black people were first brought from the West Coast of Africa to American soil, they shared common cultural patterns which were rich in tradition and folklore. Much of the transplanted African culture found expression in oral literature, music and dance. Basically, West Africa is the true home of most American blacks although some did originate from East and South Africa; hence, they were brought from areas where many dialects were spoken. Yet, their lack of a common language as well as their fate as slaves did not keep them from expressing their emotions, sensations, rhythm, and imagination. They revealed their African literary heritage through a native gift to produce folk literature such as poetry, rhythmical songs, wise sayings, and through oral folk stories with a use of vivid imagery, figurative and metaphorical language, double-edged vocabulary and sentence structure. The unique folk oral tradition of black American literature includes those literary types that are basically oral, such as black folk tales, black folk-songs (i.e., spirituals, blues, ballads), black sermons, black jokes, and black verbal and rhetorical strategies, such as shucking, jiving, running it down, signifying, sounding, copping a plea and rapping. The black American folk oral literary, verbal, and rhetorical tradition is an outstanding example of one of America's most vital and oldest language heritages.

These literary and rhetorical types of folk oral tradition show direct expression of the black American experience from American colonial days to the present; they, hence, show many universal aspects of the human condition and contain the appeal of literature and rhetoric. The black folk oral tradition may give evidence of what it means to be "black" in America more fully than do the black written forms.

Almost all racial and ethnic groups have produced anonymous music and literature. These folk musical and literary forms are usually produced spontaneously and handed down orally from one generation to the next. Hence, in the transitional state, the literature or music may gain or lose parts of its content or substance. These anonymous productions may vary from place to place. Many versions of a particular incident (or oral story or literary form) may arise about the same time in various neighboring localities and clans. Lack of written literary forms results in different versions of a particular incident, story, or literary form. Black folk literature had its origins in this same process and sprang basically from African and black American folklore, legends, customs, and traditions. When such folk materials were recorded they were then preserved, thus preventing change.

Although it is worth mentioning the importance of some outstanding folk tradition writers—Paul Laurence Dunbar, Charles Chesnutt, James Baldwin, Sterling Brown, Ralph Ellison, Margaret Walker, James Weldon Johnson, and Don Lee, it is worth taking note of the assertion that almost all black American writers have used aspects of the black folklore tradition in their literary works (Baker, 1971).

Making use of this black American folk oral tradition in the classroom can help to change negative attitudes about its producers and about those who are presented in the literature. At the same time, it can serve as useful instructional materials and aids in the teaching of English composition. It is important that teachers of English composition understand certain facts about the black folk tradition, and be made aware of the variety of curriculum strategies that can use the tradition.

Black speech and black language have a very wide background. Beginning with the colonial period of American Negro slavery, black Africans in America lived closely with white Americans and, hence, adopted some European forms, but revised them into totally unique expressions. Black Americans' songs and poetry, folk tales, literary, verbal and rhetorical forms had double, hidden and some not so hidden meanings.

The stylistic part of the black American English dialect found in the black folk oral tradition came about as a psycho-cultural process that supported and nourished black speech during American Negro slavery days. Black Americans devised a system of communication that could not be deciphered by the white master. Since they could not use their West African dialects, black Americans developed a language that had one meaning for the white slave master and one meaning for the black African slave with a linguistic (i.e., grammar and pronunciation) "code" and with a completely different stylistic part full of ambiguity, paradox and irony. For example, the old Negro spirituals were not necessarily talking about a life after this one, but they spoke of life at that present time in history. When black slaves sang "Steal away to Jesus," they were really speaking about stealing away from the slave master. When they sang "Deep River, I want to cross over to Jordan" or "Swing Low, Sweet Chariot, Coming for to carry me home," these black slaves had references to going to freedom or escaping to the North or possibly across some American river and on into Canada. They were talking about the escape on the "freedom train" or the

Underground Railroad.

It is worth noting that many vocabulary words found in the black folk oral tradition result from a reversal process---whatever the words mean in the Standard English dialect, they may take the opposite meanings in black dialect. The vocabulary words were first used as tools of a "coded" language with figurative usage and rhetorical power and served functionally for survival reasons. Among many black Americans the "code" has, hence, become the usual innovative ways of expressing ordinary events. These black vocabulary words are simply English terms which are made to serve the cultural needs of black people who can identify with these words because they are parts of the black **American** experience. Examples of the vocabulary of black language, dialect and "code" usage follow. The term "baby" in Standard English is an address for one's spouse or female lover or an expression used by men to refer tenderly or romantically to a woman; but in black dialect the term may be used among men to refer to and to acknowledge the super masculinity of the male receiver of the term. "Cat" in Standard English is an animal, but in black English it means anyone who is a male. "Mad" means mentally disturbed, insane or angry in Standard English and great or exciting in black English dialect. "Terrible" means horrible, severe, or extremely bad in Standard English dialect, and it means to be really wonderful or great in black English dialect. "Bad" in Standard English means having poor qualities or just not good, but in black dialect it means the very best, or good, or beautiful.

The black American folk oral tradition also shows the black Americans' great ability to relax openly and to enjoy themselves and, hence, to show their spontaneity in most of their oral language productions---chanting, clapping hands, swaying to the rhythm and grunting to provide rhythm which is called the songified pattern. This is shown in all forms and types of the black American folk oral tradition. Irony and repetition, which are the central stylistic devices of the folk oral tradition types, are more effective when they are sung or heard than when they are written and then read silently. The language of the black folk oral tradition is often accompanied by non-verbal cues, such as postures, gestures of the hands and the head, facial expressions, and eye and body movements.

The importation of black people from African to American soil, their later enslavement, and finally their isolation from the dominant culture (geographically and socially during American Negro slavery and after emancipation) forced them to develop and to use a common linguistic system (a black American dialect). They learned to express themselves in literary, verbal and rhetorical art through a black American folk oral tradition which met their social, psychological, religious, educational, and entertainment needs. Many of the black American folk oral productions of the black culture were not written down until the nineteenth century and even on into the twentieth century. Some forms are still not written down, but are spoken and altered in our present day society.

The black stylistic part of the black American folk oral tradition can be classified into the sacred and the secular types of oral expression. The sacred style is rural and Southern. It is fixed in the black religious experience (i.e., black spirituals) and the black church tradition. The secular style is urban and Northern, but it has roots in the South and is rural in nature (i.e., blues, folk tales, and the street culture styles of the rapper, the sounder, and the signifier).

Used in both the sacred and the secular styles of the black folk oral tradition productions is the **call and response pattern** which is found in spoken and musical forms. The call occurs when the speaker makes a statement or the leader sings either the first line or the first word of a song. The response takes place when the speaker expects the listener to answer back or when the chorus of singers finish the line of the song or repeat what the leader has said. The interplay between the two continues throughout the production of the work---with a statement and then with a reaction to the statement.

RHETORICAL AND VERBAL STRATEGIES

In order for English composition teachers **to understand more fully how they can use black American folk oral materials in their classes,** a brief description of each of the types of black American folk oral types and the verbal and rhetorical strategies follows.

The **black folk tales** sprang from a basically oral tradition. They are primarily animal tales. Some of these tales were written by known authors who used the same original features of the original black folk tales. These features are irony, boasting, symbolism, hyperbole with the unique treatment of story-telling and narrative elements. Some black folk tales are about the slave known as John Cycle; others are superstition and supernatural ghost stories, witch-riding stories, voodoo tales, preacher and "hant" tales.

The **black folk sermons** in black dialect were first developed in the seventeenth century. These are rich in Biblical images, poetic language (i.e., metaphor and similes), rhythmical patterns, emotional appeal, often skillful narrative development, and the use of idiomatic expressions within the language of the Bible. They blend commonplace experience with historical action, and are characterized by allusions and symbolism.

During the American colonial period and throughout the continuing days of American Negro slavery, black people produced the following anonymous black folk-song types: ballads, spirituals, non-religious or secular songs, and the blues. These constitute part of the black American's authentic contribution to American culture. These folk-song types of literature with their unique possession of outstanding oral poetry exhibit spontaneous rhythmic patterns and ironical and metaphorical overtones. The African influences of the song types are possessed of the following African musical features: dominance of percussion, polymeter, off-beat phrases of melodic accents and overlapping of the call and response patterns.

Black ballads are narrative poems that sprang from the life of black people and that were adaptable for recitation and singing. The subjects of the black ballads are black heroes who performed unusual acts and were presented as epic figures (e.g., "Frankie and Johnny", "Railroad Bill", "John Henry", "Casey Jones", and "Stackolee"). They were and still are being transmitted and changed by word of mouth as they record tragedies in the lives of black people.

The anonymous **black American spirituals** comprise one of the most realistic and most beautiful forms in black folk oral tradition (e.g., "Steal Away to Jesus", "Deep River", "Go Down, Moses", and "Nobody Knowns De Trouble I See"). The themes of these black spirituals which were mostly developed during slavery and on plantations voice a note of protest, deep religious conviction and expression of the life of Jesus and other outstanding Biblical figures in an accepted religious and lyrical form. These spirituals bring the Christian Bible alive in vivid symbolism, images, figurative language, black dialect and rhythm. The spirituals also revealed the slaves' thoughts on plantation life, gave their faith in their religion, their desire for freedom from sin, and their desire to fly to freedom. Most of the black spirituals compared the slaves' conditions to that of the Israelites. To them, Pharaoh represented the master-class and Canaan became a land of freedom (which was, in many cases, Canada or the North). In their double or dual meanings, a code-like vocabulary, irony and symbols, the slaves saw Heaven as a place where there was a better life after death and where there was an absence of the harsh conditions of earthly lives in slavery. The black spirituals inevitably had two meanings for the slave as a part of the code language they used---a worldly one (very often emphasizing the theme of flight, escape or freedom) and a spiritual one, which was usually the only meaning the master was able to see. Black dialect again served as the mode of expression for this form of black folk literature.

From the point of view of art, the **black non-religious or secular songs** are as outstanding as the spirituals in terms of their rich form and vivid expression. These poetic songs showed black people's wit, humor, irony, and wisdom, and took the form of nursery rhymes, plays, dance and love-making songs, work songs, and very often songs of ironic protest.

The **black American blues** were also an anonymous type of black folk poetry and might be considered as a unique form of the black secular songs, as well. Although they have been refined since the days of slavery, these songs originated in that era. These poetic songs dealt with grief, self-pity, hard times, bad luck, often unrequited love and despair. In contrast to the spirituals, which were intended for group singing, the blues are sung by a single singer. They are mocking, sarcastic, ironic, tragic-comic, tragic, dramatic and curious.

Afro-American Jokes are not quite as unique a literary representation of black cultural ancestry as are the other forms of the black folk oral literary tradition. Black jokes are terse, short, but witty tales which depend upon a punchline conclusion for comical effect. In the story (or joke) a represented verse or song usually gives humorous and witty conclusions for emotional effect. Black dialect is used as the mode of expression for the Afro-American jokes.

In his "The Logic of Non-standard English" William Labov (1969) recognizes abilities (i.e., verbality, verbosity, grammaticality, and logic) that black users of non-standard dialect possess. Black culture and black lifestyles encourage the use of fluency and verbal strategies that are not the same kinds of rhetorical strategies and dialect that the mainstream culture uses and thrives upon. The verbal and rhetorical strategies that have been produced and used by blacks are rapping, running it down, jiving, shucking, copping a plea, sounding and signifying. These strategies can be effectively used in the English composition classroom for motivational and other instructional purposes, for these strategies emphasize rhetoric and the art of persuasion through the skillful use of language.

The following black (mainly urban) ghetto verbal strategies are parts of a black oral tradition and culture that demand the use of a secret code of the (black) street culture and its in-group members as well as an exclusive type of black ghetto idiom:

Rapping is one of the most widely used of all the black verbal strategies. It is often referred to as a form of conversation that is lively, interesting, and fluent. Rapping may also be descriptive of a narrative or a colorful rundown of a past event. Most of the time rapping is a sales-type of persuasion with a lively personal style that thrives upon control and manipulation of someone in order to make him or her do or give up something.

Running it down is a verbal instrument which involves giving (or requesting) information, advice, clarification, or addition to some information already presented. It is a way of giving explanation or repetition, and it comes as a request that hinges upon surprise or disbelief on the part of the listener to understand what has already been said. Style and personality are at the center of this strategy.

Jiving often refers to communication (used by the audience or the listener) which attempts to put someone down or which is difficult for someone to believe (i.e., listener gives a belief that the speaker might not be reliable or honest). Jiving is a form of rejection in which the listener tells the speaker that the speaker is saying things that both of them recognize as having no real meaning and, hence, being impossible or impractical to believe in (Abrahams & Gay, 1972). Often the term jiving is used in the sense of "shucking and jiving" or "all that jive", or "off the wall stuff".

Shucking has a particular meaning when used by blacks in referring to blacks or in referring to whites. Many shuckers are "Uncle Toms" and "Aunt Janes" or those people who when faced with or exposed to a dangerous or suspicious situation very often do what they are expected to do by pretending to be submissive, simple-minded or appealing or entreating earnestly, and even showing themselves to be confessors of guilt (Abrahams & Gay, 1972). Shucking is a defensive verbal strategy, but when one is shucking in order to "whup the Game", the offensive strategy is used as a guise designed to manipulate someone to relinquish something or to feel or act a particular way. Many blacks are more desirous than ever to use offensive strategies to express their feelings of pride and self-assertion. When blacks use shucking on other blacks, they use appropriate folk talk and gestures. These give a false impression that often has fun or jest overtones in which the person being "put on" senses the efforts being made and goes along with it for the pleasure, or because of a high estimation of the style (Kochman, 1969).

Copping a plea, like shucking and jiving, emphasizes the ability to get out of a situation through compromise. However, copping a plea is a more direct verbal strategy in which one recognizes the superiority of someone else and, hence, asks or begs for mercy, pity, or sympathy. This may be called loss of face or loss of status among a person's peers (Kochman, 1969). One uses copping a plea when fearful or insecure or when wanting to show respect for or fear of someone who is more powerful or superior.

Sounding has as its aim to insult someone in varying ways and degrees from the word game used to test attitude and disposition, to friendly and petulant quarreling, or to words used to start a physical fight. The sound may be a simple challenge. The effectiveness of the sound is measured by the quickness of the answer or response that is received in reply to it, or by its unexpected or quick-willed nature. If it takes the contender a long time to respond to the sound, then the sound is said to be good or effective. Other terms which refer to sounding are "coming down hard" or being "foul" or "cold". The aim of sounding is to take status from an opponent through the use of verbal power. Group presence is important to the game (very often helpful in preventing a physical fight).

Signifying is a verbal strategy that is referred to in some places as sounding or insulting someone. It involves boasting, implying, begging, or inciting someone through the use of gestures or verbal play. Signifying refers to talking with great innuendo, to carp, needle and lie, and to cajole.

It means the ability to talk around the subject never quite coming to the point. It also means making fun of a person or a situation. It is signifying to stir up fights between friends by telling stories.

The black verbal and rhetorical strategies, therefore, serve definite needs and functions in the black American community--needs that teachers and other educators should become familiar with. When properly applied, these same black verbal and rhetorical strategies can also be effectively used in the English composition classroom for motivational and instructional purposes.

CLASSROOM USE

The black American folk oral tradition with its verbal and rhetorical strategies may be used as a curriculum motivational and instructional tool in the English composition classroom because of its outstanding appeal. Elements of the black American folk oral tradition can be useful for instruction in general (Freshman and Sophomore) English composition classes, in introduction to literature classes, and in other advanced English composition classes to generate discussions, to provide information for composition topics, and for grammar and dialect code-switching (linguistic) exercises and dialogues.

Rhetoric (i.e., the art of both oral and written persuasion) and the elements of English composition may be presented in the English composition classroom by the use of elements of the black oral folk tradition. Elements of the black folk oral types (i.e., ballads, folk tales, blues, spirituals) that are narrative in nature may be used to teach narration (temporal order) and those that are descriptive in nature to teach description (spatial order or appearances). The themes of the black American folk literary works which possess unique qualities of the universal human condition of all people may be utilized as topics for expository and augumentative compositions.

Students may examine the literary and the rhetorical styles and structures of the black folk sermons and their handling of ethical, rational, and emotional appeals. The students may produce written or oral compositions that emphasize and analyze the rhetorical and the argumentative elements and appeals of the sermons by presenting the important features, styles, and themes or significances, the delivery, and the message of the original black sermons.

Students may compare and/or contrast the various black folk oral types and the verbal and rhetorical strategies or they may analyze them as written and oral assignments. Lessons that deal with the use of factual details in compositions, with chronological order, examples and/or illustrations, definition, paraphasing, summarizing, and cause and/or effect may be presented using elements of the black folk literary types especially the black folk-songs, the black sermons, and rapping and running it down. However, composition or essay topics may simply arise from a discussion of the historical, philosophical, sociological, religious, entertainment, and psychological aspects of the black American experience. Students may give the functions of, purposes of, usages of, and the effectivenesses of each of the black verbal and rhetorical strategies (e.g., shucking, jiving, signifying and sounding) as means of classroom discussions and as a basis for oral and written argumentative compositions or essays. The black American dialect may be used to practice the use of the black verbal and rhetorical strategies for role-playing and for code-switching or shifting to Standard American English.

For motivational purposes, students may examine the use of black folk oral elements, features, and types, black dialect and the black verbal and rhetorical strategies found in commercials and advertisements on television and radio shows. Students may examine black folk elements used by black disk jockeys and comedians. A journal of out-of-class contacts with aspects of the black folk tradition (concerts, movies, readings, conversations with friends and relatives, church services, etc.) may be kept by the students in the English composition class.

Students may examine examples of the black folk oral tradition types of literature in the English composition class. This examination can be helpful in the teaching of rhetoric in general or in the teaching of (introductory) literature. The aim is to help students produce oral and written compositions or essays which express, emphasize and analyze the universal appeals of those literary devices: irony; repetition; rhythm; theme; plot; tone; conflict; characterization; point of view; narrative style; narrative realism; wit; didacticism; symbolism; allegory; myth; ritual; humor; superstition; narrative structure; expressions of practical and homely wisdom and philosophy; satire; figurative language; poetic devices and poetic structural patterns such as the narrative, image and the idea patterns.

The teacher can select the type of black folk oral literature which is appropriate for the class' handling of any of the above devices found in appropriate examples of black folk tradition literature. Students may discuss the original usage of a particular folk oral literary type and then present in composition or essay form the use of the same types of works in America today. For motivational purposes, the students may create oral and written compositions in the form of skits or individual oral readings of particular types of black folk oral literature along with the black verbal and rhetorical strategies. Poetry can be taught by using the examples of the features of black folk-song types; oral and written compositions may be based upon this presentation of the poetical elements and aspects found in the black folk-song types. Poetry may also be discussed and taught by using poems written by known black American writers who used elements of the black folk oral tradition in their literary works.

For any class which has as its aim getting students to produce unified and coherent oral or written compositions or essays many motivational activities may be done before the students compose. Black folk-song types of literature such as spirituals, blues, work songs, songs of irony, ballads, and secular songs may be interpreted from different perspectives such as the black or the white or the spiritual or the worldly. The teacher may play recordings of folk-song types by outstanding musicians or reading-poet artists, and this can lead into a student discussion of the blends of the music (African and Afro-American derivation) and words of the folk-song types. Some students may also individually or collectively perform musical compositions of folk-song types for the class as a means of classroom motivation. Students may listen to recordings or tapes of black American folk tales, black sermons, and black jokes by anonymous and known writers. This activity may be followed by a group or individual discussion of the work and then the writing or speaking assignment.

In the literature class which has as its aim the production of student compositions, students may use black folk tales by anonymous and known authors for the discussion of the elements of fiction. Written and/or oral assignments (group and individual) may grow from class discussions of the elements of fiction (style and theme) found in the black folk literary works. Students may write creative examples of the various black folk oral tradition types as well as the verbal and rhetorical strategies. Students may base compositions upon the dual nature and the irony of particular types of black folk literature or black verbal and rhetorical strategies. Written and oral essay topics may come from discussions of the content of the original black folk oral forms in their historical perspective or in application of them to present day life experiences.

Black folk tales may be read and then re-told in standard English; the lessons or the themes gained from their telling may be discussed and used as sources for topics of oral and written assignments. The short story may be talked about and taught by using elements of the black folk tales; the novel may be taught by using black American novels or short story collections written by known black American writers who extensively used elements of the black folk oral tradition in their literary works. Drama may be taught by using elements of the black folk-song types and the black folk tales as well as the black folk jokes through student written and class-group dramatizations of the black folk tradition types. Discussions and essays may be drawn from these dramatizations.

Students may examine and discuss the black American dialect found in black folk-song types, black folk tradition sermons, and Afro-American jokes. They may use these black folk forms for code-switching or shifting exercises in standard American English.

The black American folk oral tradition of literature and black verbal and rhetorical strategies express black American reality and show a definite mastery of literary and rhetorical techniques and linguistic expression. They can be effective tools in the English composition classroom for motivational and instructional purposes.

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ENCOURAGING ORAL LANGUAGE IN THE RELUCTANT YOUNG SPEAKER

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Young children are prey to many doubts and fears about what they will become. Erik Erikson, in **Toys and Reasons** (1977), describes a five-year-old boy's concern about whether his mind matched his physical development. In his classroom, this young boy moved and danced around the room with grace. When his teacher complimented him on this, he voiced his doubts about his ability to think. She was able to reassure him that school would help his mind and body grow together. His teacher was able to respond and offer him reassurance because of the words he spoke....and because the curriculum was designed to foster multi-dimensional growth.

Human beings need to share doubts, to escape from the turmoil, anxiety and isolation of inner private worlds; to share the consolation of membership in a larger community where a common world view gives ballast to the unique but, at times, unmanageable perspective of the individual person. The ability to cope with only one perspective, Piaget points out, is characteristic of young children and narrows their world view.

There is an additional limitation to being locked into oneself and out of the larger world. In her description of the education program at the experimental Malting House School for young children, Isaacs (1960) noted the joyful release from the pressures of fantasy that immersion in the real world can bring children. This can occur when children and their teachers experience events and talk about them together. In her book, there is ample documentation of the power of conversation to bring clarity to children's experiences in an imaginatively provisioned educational setting.

Words are invaluable for social, intellectual, and emotional growth and it is a concern when young children do not put them to good use. In this essay, the focus is upon children without speech problems who seem able to talk but are reluctant to do so. Most young human beings are not reluctant to talk. They babble, imitate, and invent words. Very young toddlers have enthusiasm for the first words they make up themselves, which they often teach their responsive parents. Ricks (1974) points out, in his research on early language, that children's first words may be dichotomized into "dada" and "label" words. "Dada" words can be heard in early babbling, and children imitate them when adults speak them. "Label" words are made up by the child from words heard and denote an object at first, and then whole classes of objects. A pet horse may be called "horsey", and for a while, cows, dogs, and other four-legged animals become "horsey". These label words were found to hold the children's attention longer than "dada" words when played back on a tape recorder. It seemed to the researcher that young children were inventing their own language.

Through imitation and invention of symbols, order is imposed on experience, but it is unnecessarily limiting to think of these solely as verbal processes. To return to the young boy of whom Erikson wrote, he built a figure with outstretched arms using blocks and accessory toys, representing conflict which, with other data, Erikson was able to read as the same message he had given his teacher in words.

In centering upon young children who talk little, it is unwise to devalue or ignore the non-verbal forms of symbolic activity in which they engage. For these all reflect creative, inventive powers which are put to use, for example, when trying to grasp a new theory. Bronowski (1956) has pointed out that the original theory needs to be recreated in order to be understood. An active re-invention of the idea has to occur before a sense of having "got the idea" can be gained.

Unfortunately, non-verbal forms of symbolic activity are not always understood or valued as inventive. The father, who raised his eyebrows at his young son's drawing of a horse and pointed out it did not look like a horse to him, was put in his place by the reply: "But you can't see it. It's **my** horse." * The tadpole man of the three-year old is born of inventiveness and selectivity. Kellogg (1970) has pointed out that from a complex array of scribbles that reveal experimentation with lines and circles and their interrelationship, children go back to a simpler form, the circle, and produce this as their first recognizable attempt to represent a human being. Filling in ditto outlines, coloring "in the lines", are ways, at best, of slowing down the child's inventiveness; at worst, of stifling it altogehter. The hidden message may be, "Don't try inventing symbols that mean something to you. Do what you are given to do." Some children may need to cut their "symbolic" teeth non-verbally before they can move to mastery of words.

Chris was raised by his mother until he was four. Through her illness, he had to be separated and came to the nursery school at an institution many miles from his house. The first week he said and did nothing. All attempts to incorporate him into the group were repelled. When he did move out, it was to the block corner where day after day he built what seemed to be train tracks. He also drew them, repetitively, continuously, in shaky pencil lines down the page. We could guess his thoughts were on travelling back home. It was many weeks later, when the children were asked for their choice of songs on the guitar, that Chris called out the name of one of their repertoire, singing the refrain loudly, "Same ol' train that brought me here, gonna carry me home again". The blocks and drawings were his first symbolic representations of the pain of separation and the wish to return home. Words came later. If Chris' first symbolic representations had been rejected through unavailability of materials and time, it would surely have served to weaken his power to structure his experience and deal with it symbolically. The symbol system children find most available for them should be valued as a starting point from which to encourage their discovery of the immeasurable value of words. Adults may tend to see words as an isolated symbol system. For children, it is quite another matter. There is evidence that young children have synesthetic tendencies enabling them to perceive a stimulus in several senses. Gardner (1973) recalls a five-year-old spontaneously relating the motifs he was playing on the piano to alphabet letters. Lewis (1975) writes of another five-year-old girl who unhesitantly defined song musical notes in terms of a good design in painting.

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* I am indebted to Marcy Swartz of the Susquehanna School, Binghamton, for this anecdote.

Smilansky (1977) suggests the value of allowing children, with help from their teachers, to think through ideas in a variety of different symbol systems. Young childen who both played, drew, sculpted and read ideas scored higher in reading comprehension than a control group limited only to reading. For some children some media were preferred but Smilansky found one medium simply was not adequate for any child.

Support for conceptualizing verbal and non-verbal symbol systems as interrelated comes from understandings about reading as a process that is not limited to words, but is extended to include paintings, music, clouds,maps, and so on. Wolf (1977) points out the surprising amount of similarity in the way texts, pictures, music, and maps are read. Common processes occur in all these forms of reading. They are those associated with logical thinking, e.g., sorting and grouping ideas; and interpreting and generalizing.

With due appreciation given to children's abilities to develop various symbol systems, there is still a role for the school in helping children gain facility with words. Fortunately, all does not depend on the teacher because their peers can lead children headlong into linguistic discoveries.

Children have no better companions for their task of language creation and invention than their own peers. Here are two kindergarten childen talking as they play together:

John and Renee are making letters on magic cards, and erasing them hard and having a race as they do this. Renee is finishing ahead of John.

1. **John** "Whoever finishes last wins."
   John begins putting away the cards, and asks Renee for help. She shakes her head vigorously.
2. **John** "You are the one who worked it."(firm voice)
   At this Renee picked up several cards and put them away. When

this is done, John says:
3. **John** "Whoopsee."
4. **Renee** "Whoopsee Ding Dong."
5. **John** "Whoopsee Ding Dong."
Renee now has a pack of cards, and speaking in a teacher-like voice, she says to John:
6. **Renee** "Take these cards and look at them very carefully."
7. **John** (funny, fooling around voice) "You can't do that. This is my favorite game."
Renee continues with stern mien and a teacher-like voice:
8. **Renee** "Whoever got a potato (she had one) put it in the bowl."
9. **John** "You got to show me yours. I showed you mine."
10. **Renee** (firmly) "Do you got a potato?"
11. **John** (dourly) "No."
12. **Renee** "Keep checking."
Pause.
13. **Renee** (in her teacher-like voice) "Now ask me for something."
14. **John** "When I get them all in line."
15. **Renee** "Put'em right here. Tip'em over like mine. You got brown and orange."
16. **John** "What is it? A gourd?"

It was indeed a gourd. Even a cursory glance at this conversation reveals the learnings that such peer talk can produce in a facilitating environment where materials and time are devoted to spawning such encounters. And what are the children experiencing linguistically? The need to make clear in language what they want to communicate, **6** and **15**; that rules can be taught and games learned in language, **1, 6, 8, 9, 12, 13, 14,** and **15**; the way language can be softened to convey displeasure without direct attack, **7**; that objects have qualities and are named, **15** and **16**, and that sounds can be created and manipulated for fun, **4** and **5**.

In the "Whoopsee Ding Dong" refrain, they are playing with words. Piaget has shown that for young children words are inseparable from their referents. They are not arbitrary, human-made symbols. Five-year-old Hugh wrote a birthday card to his two-year-old brother, John, writing Hugh in very large letters, as contrasted with the tiny script he used for writing John. His mother asked him why he did this, and received the reply that he did it, "of course", because he was big and John was small. Cazden (1975) wonders if the metalinguistic activity of children who play with words is not helpful in making words lose their transparency and instead become opaque, thus making words available for study and understanding as words. When adults refer to words metaphorically as **soft, hard** and **empty,** they may be assisting this process, too. The dialogue above is typical of much interchange between young children, and it illustrates the language training value of play. Helping young children become accepted and included in the play of their peers, then, is a priority in language development. The teacher has the responsibility of helping the classroom group accept a member who is different, a familiar process in mainstreaming because children who talk little are indeed, different.

Recently, a group of kindergarten children was walking through the hall of their school. One of their group was a boy who speaks rarely. A teacher from an upper grade addressed a question to him and, gaining no response, repeated it in a harsh tone of voice. Several of the children piped up protectively: "He doesn't talk." Their concern contrasts with other classrooms where children are jeered at by their peers for "talking funny". Such concern does not just happen, but is the consequence of a classroom climate fostering it.

The kindergarten in which the non-speaking boy was an incorporated class member is characterized by its focus on cooperative, not competitive, learning for young children. The teacher believes that the educational program has to address a wide range of children's developmental needs, and that it has to identify individual strength and build on this. The non-verbal child is not defined by his deficit in this environment any more than are other children. The latter, not under developmentally-premature pressure to compete, have no need to find release in scapegoating a group member.

For this particular young boy, in the classroom he built, painted, drew and played out some of his understandings of the world. And he was "adopted" by a girlfriend who became his "spokeswoman". The teacher used careful, systematic observation and recording (her own, the principal's and colleagues) to help her decision of how much leeway to give the "spokeswoman" and when to encourage the boy to convey his thoughts in words. Immersed in an environment of story-telling, poems, puppet-plays and language games, his use of words slowly increased.

To turn to a different problem, sometimes children chatter away to their peers but speak very little to a teacher, answering questions in monosyllables or in tones so low as to be indecipherable. They are uncomfortable or unaware in their conversation with adults. This is a cause for concern because they are being deprived of educational conversations.

There are many reasons why children do not talk to their teachers or use them as available sources of information and guidance. One of these may lie in the mismatch of language experiences in their homes and in the school. Carew and her colleagues have engaged in research with young children describing the language environments of their homes. Carew et al, in their book *Observing Intelligence in Young Children* (1976), describe episodes in the lives of eight children, observed regularly and systematically, from the ages of one to three years in their own homes.

They observed Sonja and Laura at thirteen months and found Sonja's mother spent most of the day chatting with her small daughter and labeling and re-labeling things in her world. Laura's mother talked very little. She observed her daughter's play with pan lids and the like which she offered to distract her. Each of these middle class children is exploring her environment with curiosity. Sonja is also immersed in words. One might predict, tentatively, that she would move easily into verbalizing her experiences. By way of contrast, Terry is a boy given little chance to act on objects or talk about them, and he has poor language development. The researcher notes in a typical observation that he spent most of his day watching TV, side by side with his sister who did not say a word. He appeared to be mesmerized.

Children come to school from a wide range of linguistic environments at home—about which no blanket statements, based on social class, can legitimately be made. Each family, each child has to be understood individually. One of the great advantages of Head Start and many pre-kindergarten programs is that time is made available for a home visit. At this time, a beginning idea of the kind of conversation the child is used to can be developed.

Tough (1973), in her work in England, describes Jimmie, five years old, showing mother something in his clenched hand. He has found a ladybug and is all curiosity about it. It is unthinkable to his mother that he should be allowed to keep it and she is unaware of the potential for science learnings in his questions which make no sense to her. She wants to teach him not to get messy and when she has made him release the bug and wash his hands, she rewards him with a cookie. As she conceptualizes her role as a mother, she is certainly well-intentioned to her son.

Such research in naturalistic settings is beginning to make explicit the different language experiences children have before entering school. We begin to see in detail what differences in values and life conditions mean to sound intellectual growth in the minutiae of everyday life. In some families, the emphasis is very much on learning to share, to be responsible, perhaps not to get too messy so that laundry piles up for an already busy parent, and to learn to take what the adult says without "raising a fuss". For other children, their invesigations into objects of a wide range are made in the company of adults who expect to be questioned, and join in the games differentiating out details and in hunting for causes, activities that promote intellectual (but not necessarily social) growth.

Many programs are designed to help parents use language to stimulate their children's intellectual growth. This is asking parents to be teachers and to change their linguistic ways of coping with the realities of their lives. It may mean expecting them to change their system of values. Tough (1973), sees a danger in this if parents will begin to feel responsible for their children's failure in school. In addition, there is the problem that focusing on what the child is not doing well, in language, may create a tendency to devalue the child's growth and development in other areas. Parents want their children to succeed in school. Bearing these concerns in mind, individualized programs, based on the strength of the family and the child, are the least parents can expect of our schools. They cannot be conceived simplistically, treating the language of the home as if it were as easily changed as the beds.

In the classroom, the teacher has a key role in working with children from homes where conversation is not cognitively focused, homes which are not used to engage in such two-sided conversations with adults. They will need much language tutoring of the kind that can be slipped in many times during a school day. I watched a kindergarten teacher move from one activity to another in her kindergarten and dip in for a moment to watch children attempting to seriate some pictures of astronauts going to the moon. As she moved on, she asked, "What's another word for spacemen?", and left them with "astronaut" to play around with. They proceeded to savor the new word in their discussion together. A child trying to find Marc's box asks how you spell it. The teacher says "M-A-R-K". The child returned irate. "You were wrong." and finds out words can sound the same, and be spelled differently. When it becomes obvious that a child does not know how to talk with the teacher and use the teacher as a source of information, then conscious planning for dialoguing a few minutes daily needs to be done.

This help, as Tough (1973) describes it, shares much in common with early counseling sessions in which the emphasis is upon listening. Listening, however, does call for signs on the part of the listener that he or she is actively there. She illustrates how Richard, who was very unresponsive to direct questioning, could open up when it was made verbally (and one can be sure non-verbally, too) clear that he had the teacher's full attention. This was done by making sympathetic, empathic noises such as "mum" and "really" which prolonged the conversation. This is step one in effective counseling, which involves reflecting back what reluctant speakers say; allowing silences and not filling them in; having open-ended questions. It is important to avoid a you-have-got-to-talk-whether-you-want-to-or-not-stance or I will withhold what it is you want. This may "work" in squeezing out pat utterances, but learnings about communication are surely not enhanced by this coercive approach.

What many young children may need help in grasping is the idea that the sense they make of their world, their meanings, are of interest and significance to the teacher and that the teacher has the time to help expand them or sort them out. This means observing and listening with especial care to the reluctant speakers in order to build on what interests and involves them.

Billy spoke minimally to his pre-kindergarten teacher, but he actively engaged in play and his teacher built on this. E.g., one morning he was busily fetching and carrying objects made of large hollow blocks to the grocery store. His teacher watched the play and heard the brief conversation about the fruit, particularly some spools on a tray that Billy was carrying, that were serving as grapes. During circle time, she used six of the "grapes" and asked Billy to put the grapes in a different grouping.

He beamed and arranged them in three sets of two. She asked him to tell the class what he had done and he mumbled, "Two grapes and two grapes and two grapes." In this small way, the teacher used her observation of free play to move with its theme and language into a more formal group discussion setting, and the reluctant talker spoke and received recognition for his contribution. The curriculum needs to be assessed for the support it is giving children in using words.

One child in a kindergarten spoke very little to his teacher, yet his eyes focused on her frequently. It was her custom to begin each day with the children sitting in a circle with praise for being quiet. With such a message and such a reward beginning each day, this child was surely not encouraged to talk. Made aware of this, the teacher moved to create less passivity in her group and continued to observe carefully the points at which the child talked. One day a discussion about hospitals brought forth a torrent of description of his recent trip to a hospital. Times for such discussions which draw on the children's out-of-school lives have a daily place in the curriculum.

At no point in the school day is conversation livelier and richer than around food. Bettelheim (1977) points out that for children, food is the basic source of security. He argues that to help children learn, schools should expend as much of their budget on food as on other materials. Teachers who use eating time as a pleasurable and unpressured time can sit close to the child who does not talk, ready to respond and encourage whatever conversation emerges.

Children can be forced to talk only at the expense of having their own initiative taken away from them. It is a mistake to see children who do not talk as reluctant consumers of words which must be sold to them. The direction of work with them must be made in freeing them to be active on behalf of their own learning, free creators of their own inventions.

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PARTICIPLE POWER
SEEING, HEARING, WRITING: COMPOSING

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Creative writing involves the synchronization of several processes which some students find difficult to maintain. The act involves organizing and expressing sequenced thoughts in units of meaning. Syntax and content are coordinated in the organizing and expressing operation for the maintenance of clarity. Rhetorical considerations demand an ordering of the units of thought into some logical whole. Superimposed upon the procedures are four other necessary mental activities: concentrating, remembering, imagining, and reasoning. The processes, all together, may overwhelm linguistically different learners.

In an attempt to provide language-handicapped teenagers with some creative writing experiences which they would find satisfying and upon which their abilities might grow, I presented to them some of the activities I had been using for stimulating creative expression of young children. I had found that beginners entering into creative composition respond very well to verb cues, especially the present participles in the active voice. They are the words which characterize action, and they offer successful first experiences in creative writing. In addition, they help the composers organize their thoughts.

BACKGROUND

For a number of years I have been studying means for enriching the vocabularies of preschool and primary grade children for the creative use of language (Drdek, 1970, 1970, 1976). Unusually encouraging results were obtained when I stressed on-going processes, the things that were happening. Instead of discussing a flower by naming its parts and describing its appearance, I asked the childen to think of what a flower does. It sprouts, buds, blooms, radiates a color, gives off a scent, attracts bees, and produces seeds. In short: sprouting, budding, blooming, showing, smelling, pollinating, germinating. Note how well the participles serve as an organized framework for whatever treatment I may desire.

What is a spider? Crawling, spinning, trapping, feeding, mating, laying eggs, dying. Showing children that a spider has eight legs, two body parts, and that it lives in a web may help them classify it and distinguish it from an insect, but there is very little they can do with the knowledge in speaking or writing except to repeat that information, like so:

I saw a spider.
It was brown.
It had eight legs.
It lives in a web.

The information is correct, but the report is lifeless. We proudly call it an "experience" and hang it on the wall. However, when the children are shown how to make associations using participles we get:

Spider
creeping
crawling
scaring

By themselves, in the order they are shown, the above words form a complete thought expressed very well. It is a kind of "kernel" sentence having a noun and three verbs in the active voice. In that sense, it is basic language. The active voice has its own appeal to young children because they can perform their kernel compositions. And indeed they are encouraged to act them out. The child can demonstrate a spider.

Involved in the development of the form of expression shown above, which I call "derring-do's" to distinguish them from "experiences", was my special interest in verbs in general. They seemed to be unreasonably neglected in the child's world. In the visual media the processes are seen but are not labeled. The child sees a man on a horse come galloping into town raising a cloud of dust, sliding to a whoa, jumping off the horse, tying the reins to the hitching rail, stomping up the steps, striding across the porch, banging through swinging doors, and sliding up to the bar. Children can understand the actions because all are in their visual vocabularies. (Debes, 1974). Of great concern to me is the gap between visual and verbal literacy.

Derring-do's

As much as I could, I stressed actions and the use of action words in working with young children. Jacks and Joans jumped over candlesticks. Pigs came back from market going jiggety-jig and jiggety-jog. The Gingerbread Man was pursued by as many characters as there were children. Elephants got into the chase, stomping, bumping, and garrumping. Ponies were prancing, tramping, strutting. Alligators: snapping, plodding, yawning. Even butterflies entered the race, flitting, diving, darting.

Other storybook characters came to an active life. Mary Anne, Mike Mulligan's steam shovel, was one. How did she go up hill on her way to Popperville? Chugging, snorting, puffing. Down hill? Racing, bumping, clattering. Of course, when I introduced each word, I had to define it by demonstrating it. Then we'd all do it.

Because young children seemed to take so much delight in hearing and acting out **ing** words, I thought that derring-do's might serve as a vehicle for childen's creative writing. I made a model of one which I printed on a large card along with a line drawing of the subject and introduced it to a group in a summer reading program. The words in the model follow as they were placed on the card.

Kite
sailing
soaring
dancing
Dreamer

The children took to the form quite readily. The three verses below are examples of what children are able to compose.

Skin
moving
stretching
scrunching
People
Tim, Gr. 3

Caterpillar
squirming
wiggling
sleeping
Butterfly
Bill, Gr. 4

People
running
walking
playing
Me
John, Gr. 3

As can be seen, derring-do's are exercises in thought-combining on its simplest level. They are natural kernel sentences.

To help the younger children cope with their scant collections of participles, I began preparing lists of them for special topics. Under "Spring", for instance, we gathered **growing, crawling, hopping, chirping, blooming,** and so on. The class participated, and it was remarkable how one word brought out another. **Crawling** cued **hopping,** for example.

A discussion of the words followed. "What does **hopping** bring to mind?" The answers generally included rabbits, toads, frogs, crickets. Words which were unfamiliar to the group were looked up. **Chirking** was one such in a recent session. Is it a real word? What does it mean? How is it different from **chirping?** The two were demonstrated. Building the lists together and holding conversations on the words seemed to produce better verses.

Persistence as a vital part of the creative process was always stressed. It needs to be nurtured. Persistence and time go together. **Quality** means time to redo a work. Rewriting is more than editing. It is rethinking and redoing. Constructive rethinking can be demonstrated by rearranging the words, replacing one word with a stronger or more apt one. Creative writing is not a gift; it's a human characteristic which needs to be developed.

Happenings

From derring-do's with the younger children, we move up to "happenings" for the older ones. Here's my example of a winter happening:

snowflakes
floating staying piling
cars
sliding slipping stalling
wind
blowing howling drifting
people
shoveling pushing walking
blizzard

Here are two samples of what the model stimulated:

winter
gripping snapping nipping
wind
whipping breezing chilling
nose
freezing wheezing sneezing
AH-choo

Mary Anne, Gr. 5

fields
drifting blowing stacking

footprints
trailing jumping sliding
snow
packing blacking melting
spring

Richard C., Gr. 5

Note that the three examples are expressions of complete thoughts without concern for sentence structure. Happenings are an expanded form of the derring-do's. They too are kernel statements grouped into what might be a paragraph.

In each creation, the participles were the cues. **Gripping, snapping, nipping** combined to make winter. **Winter** is a poor cue, if it is a cue at all, for children with language disabilities. It goes nowhere. It triggers very litte. When I present to a group: "**Snapping.** What can be snapping?" a list comes back, such as fingers, turtles, snappers, cold winters. Who in Upstate New York has not felt cold snapping at ears and noses and finger tips when the thermometer plummets?

We may begin by cuing a kernel and develop a thought from it, for example; Hiking—climbing viewing enjoying hills.

When put into standard sentence form, we may have: "I like to go hiking. I like to climb hills and to sit enjoying the view."

Lists of participles can be created for practically any enterprise, such as camping, picnicking, field tripping, holidaying, Fourth of Julying, or celebrating Martin Luther King's, Washington's and Lincoln's birthdays. I advise teachers to build a collection of cues on various topics and create models to illustrate them. Some of the work that the children produce should be added to the teacher's collection.

Observations

Working with participles seemed to stimulate children's creative thinking very effectively. The participles appeared to be useful in organizing their thoughts. Rewriting was simply rearranging some of the words, which a number of children seemed to enjoy doing. That was an important gain, for only by doing can their language skills grow, and doing is promoted only when the process is not painful.

Some of the linguistically different upper elementary grade students and early teenagers that I had worked with in summer reading programs seemed to exhibit some of the characteristics of young children. They showed limited vocabularies, especially in their supply of verbs. This would be understandable because a rich collection of verbs is gathered through extensive reading.

Perceptions of the younger childen and the language-handicapped older children were limited. That similarity is reasonable because perceptions are influenced by a person's linguistic knowledge. An individual's observational acuity is affected by the quantity and quality of labels at his or her disposal.

Both groups showed signs of using telegraphic language. Words were left out and some word endings dropped. The younger children's speech depended much upon nonsense words, such as **like-wow, y'know, excetera, crazy, gassers, nowhere,** and several others. The adolescents had not yet acquired control over the linguistic rules in their productions, performing on the level of young children.

A PILOT STUDY

An obvious question begged itself: If participles can stimulate creative productions in primary grade pupils by serving as concept and word-finding cues, what effect would their use have upon language-handicapped adolescents? An opportunity to explore the approach was granted.

Access to seven young people in a special class in Brockport's middle school was arranged. I would meet with them two days each week for the last six weeks of the school term.

My goals for the study were to sample performances in four areas.

1. Would use of present participles, active voice, stimulate the students to write creatively and find satisfaction in doing so? Would they write more often and write longer items?
2. Would the students' work show growth in T-units? Because more mature writers expand upon their thoughts by using modifiers, an increase in the length of each thought expressed would indicate maturation (O'Hare, 1973). The results would show that the participles can indeed operate as concept cues and word-finding cues.
3. Would the use of such lists improve the student's attitude toward writing and toward himself or herself in language learning situations? In approaching the problem of stimulating writing, the first hurdle is to overcome negative attitudes about writing. Before a teacher can deal with punctuation, spelling, sentence sense, sentence combining, and editing, the students must produce materials in quantity. Would the use of the aids give the students a sense of success, and encourage them to write more and longer pieces?
4. Would each student use the words as cues, writing his/her thoughts in the words cued by the participles? If a student merely strung

together sentences using one or more of the words, the participles would not be serving as cues but as sentence fillers.

In age, the seven students ranged from early thirteen to a late fifteen years, putting nearly three years between the extremes. All were reading on the second-to-third grade level. To identify their work, they will be named as follows: Alan, Bill, Dawn, John, Karen, Kim and Valerie. Samples of work done before the study follow. Each sample was selected by the student named, therefore, they indicate nothing more than work that the named student liked.

I love those flowers. I think there
grand, those bautiful flower's in
that stand, People go up there
and buy all kinds, all kinds of
flower's in the stand, But don't
they sea those bautiful flowers,
those bautiful flowers jest
whating for me.

Dawn

Wind! Wind
(cool)
The wind is pretty.
The wind is fun.
The wind can blow.
The wind can do very
many thing
So now you know what
can do so you have

de (be) gune to have fun
(cool)
with the pretty, blowing

fum wind.

The End!

From Karen

to you may

wind be fum
(cool)
blowing pretty.

Kitten

I had a kitten

but now hes dead

I hit it on the head

with a brick.

Valerie

All seven of the students demonstrated emotional difficulties. They saw themselves as failures. They frequently attacked each other in verbal outbursts, making cutting personal remarks. Their handwriting showed the stress which writing assignments placed upon them. The errors they made attested to their immaturity in writing. Reversals were common, letters and words were often left out, and there were many mistakes in spelling and in punctuation.

Procedure

I began introducing the class to happenings, "a type of poetry which tells a story by using action words". I displayed two I had made, typed in large (primer) type, pasted to poster boards, and illustrated. The two I used are:

morning
freezing snowing blowing
violets
nodding wavering shrinking
daffodils
marching daring thriving
tulips
huddling bracing enduring
spring

dandelion seed
flying floating landing
summer rain
drumming thumping planting
winter snow
blanketing hiding melting
spring sun
warming nurturing urging
summer morn
growing yellowing blooming
dandelion

Next we talked about words which tell about something in one of its processes, like snow melting. What we see are things doing what they are supposed to be doing. We hear things doing things. We don't really **hear** an airplane. Writers observe processes as they are happening or as they remember them as happening. But writers do not write in the **now** language; they write in **gone** words. In writing happenings, we think in **now** words. We imagine things happening.

Several of the words in the models were discussed. "How might **wavering** look?"

"Like you don't know if you should stand up or fall down."

"Nurturing?"

"Like feeding, but like lots more."

"More what?"

"Like doing it with love."

An argument on love broke out. Karen teased Alan about love, wanting to know if he knew all that it involved.

After I had distributed the booklets of words on spring that I had made for the class, I put a copy of them on the overhead projector. They were organized into three groups: seeing words, hearing words, and doing words. As I pointed to a few out-of-the-ordinary words, we talked about their meanings.

"What might we see that is soaring?"

"Hawks returning in the spring."

"Kites."

"Demonstrate **soaring**, using your open hands. How is it different from **flying**?"

"**Flying** is doing lots of flapping to get somewhere. **Soaring** is riding the breezes, taking it easy like."

We tried writing one together. "Give me some action words for spring."

First came "seedlings sprouting." More words were slowly offered. The class agreed on a title, and we ended up with this happening:

Spring

seedlings sprouting

beginnings

plants growing

emerging

flowers blooming

beautiful

It wasn't in the form I had wanted, but it was a start. It was a composition that could be discussed. They turned them into sentences:

"In spring, seedlings sprout. Plants emerge and grow. Then beautiful flowers bloom." Or: "Beautiful blooms emerge."

We studied the two models I had brought with me, and we compared the class's happening to them. They noted the difference. Each student promised to write one and turn it in upon our next meeting.

Only Dawn submitted a verse. Bill said that he had forgotten his at home. Alan said that he was unable to think of one. John just gave a hopeless shrug.

Dawn's verse follows:

nature

loving, existing, caring

Birds

chirping, fluttering, mating

People

talking, walking, giving

Plants

growing, smelling, drifting

life

I read it out loud to the class and complimented her on it. The class applauded. It was a sincere demonstration.

With the words of Writing About Spring reflected on the screen by the overhead projector, we talked about the ideas the words brought to mind.

"Picture something that is crawling. What is crawling?"

"Worms."

"How come?"

"It's rained so hard that the worms are all over the sidewalk. Yick!"

"What is blowing?" I asked. After some prodding, we could hear trains, fire engines and see kites, blossoms, and clouds blowing as well as the wind.

We talked a bit about the visual language being in the right side of the brain and the verbal language in the left and how a writer tries to get the left half stimulating the right half with word cues and how the right half feeds the left half images for which the left half seeks words.

"When we go into a deep sleep at night, the right sides of our brains are set free of the controls our waking minds put on them. Without controls, they are free to run through series of pictures which we know as dreams. We also draw upon those pictures in our waking hours. Our daydreams are our wishes, hopes and fantasies. The right sides of our brains are like the places where television stations store their file tapes. Not only are our experiences stored there, our imaginary productions are too.

"We can also get from the right sides of our brains pictures of danger and scary things that might happen to us. But on a lovely day in spring, we can get our minds to replay some lovely scenes involving people we are fond of. What writers try to do is to find words for telling about those beautiful and scary pictures in their minds. Think about some words for your spring pictures."

I had prepared for the occasion a list of "People" words in booklet form and also on acetate for the overhead projector. We talked about some and what they brought to mind. Then together the group wrote this happening:

two strangers

meeting talking laughing

friends

seeing helping thinking

lovers

crying loving hurting

dreamers

touching hitting divorcing

After thinking about the last line and wondering where to go next, they changed their minds about it. The line was erased and the verse continued like so:

Touching caring sharing

honeymooning

moving hugging kissing

children

Each student was then asked to write a verse similar to the class's model. Dawn wrote and revised as she proceeded. She began with **friends** and changed it to **Cairy**. The final version, after many erasures, reads:

Cairy

building caring feeling

life

leading following experiencing

fun

planning sharing forgiving

joy

treasuring finding diciding

togethernes

Kim also did much erasing and revising to produce these two:

People

Mother

yelling, talking, caring

Teachers

teaching, showing, whispering

Grandma

baking, loving, listening

Sister

understanding, smiling, remembering

Anamals

Dogs

Barking, prancing, walking
Birks
Chirping, flying, danceing
snakes
sliding, sneeking, curling
cats
purring, clawing, jumping

In writing the happening, "People", Kim drew most of the participles from the list reflected on the screen by the overhead projector. For the second work, she used the "Spring" booklet I had prepared. Her efforts and those of the other students show how the use of the word lists helps cut down on spelling errors. The students appreciate that advantage.

Valerie also drew from the "People" list and received spelling help from the classroom teacher.

Horses
creating, tamming, naming
Beautiful
walking, troting, cantering
Tamming
showing, breeding, foaling
People
jumping, ridding,sliding
remembering
chancing, doubting,falling
sore

By Valerie

Alan, in a pinched, tortuous handwriting which gave away the emotional stress he was experiencing, produced this, the third revision:

myself

existing, hearing, forgetting

animal

needing, taming, searching

man

inventing, deciding, answering

nature

One wonders if he was, by chance, describing himself in the first four lines? Who is the "man, inventing, deciding, answering?"

Bill was also working under an obvious strain. He was trying very hard. His facial expressions showed his anxiety.

Nature

loving, dreaming, creating

Plants

growing, towering, dieing

People

existing, caring, building

City's

robbing, laughing, polluting

Doomed

remembering, wishing, wondering

Extinction

I had watched Bill pursue "Extinction" through the dictionary, and was impressed with his persistence. He knew just the word he wanted. When I read his verse out loud, he glowed with pride as his fellow students showed their amazement. I read all that were submitted and was pleased to see that each contributor felt that he or she had produced something of value.

Toward Prose

Since the students apparently were enjoying success at writing happenings, I wondered how they would respond to a prose assignment. How would the participles operate in sentences?

I returned to the acetate copy of the "People" words, and on it I wrote, "I see. I hear. I know." Together the class produced:

> I see people listening, talking, enjoying and
> loving. I hear people laughing, singing and talking.
> I know that they are near.
>
> I see dogs running, playing, barking. I hear
> birds crowing, cheeping, and peeping. I hear dog
> catchers yelling. I hear a little boy crying because
> his dog is gone. I know that the boy is sad and
> that the dog catcher is glad. But I know that the
> dog will get away.

Note how the students had to have a happy ending.
John, who had written the following as a happening,

people

loving caring hugging

animal

buzzing mooing crowing

turned it into prose: "I see people loving, caring, hugging. I hear animals buzzing, mooing, crowing. I know that there is fighting, hating, and loving."

Of all the students in the class, John seemed to have the most difficult time with composing. Although he worked, putting words on paper, he hardly ever turned in the results. He generally gathered the sheets of paper together and disgustedly tore them up. He would not let me see what he had done. Considering the problems he thought he had, I greatly appreciated the above work.

Bill wrote the following lines, more at ease and more pleased with himself.

I see nature, loving

I hear thunder, clashing

I know that existing is caring

I see plants, people, citys

I hear citys, people, nature

I know that people need people

togetherness

I see God creating, caring, and forgiving

I hear people believing, asking and searching

I know that we all need each other..

Dawn's Offering:

I see a monkey he is playing

I see him eating I see him sleeping

I hear him thumping around I hear

him laughing and I hear him snoring

I know that he must be tired

I know that he will be quiet for awhile.

Karen's:

I see you

I hear you

I know that you are around

I see you

I hear you talking

I know that a lot of people are hear.

I see a thing

I hear feet! caming

I know that I am scared

I see a gun

I hear a ban

I know that I am dining

Kim was not in class that day, and Valerie did not submit a paper.

At the next session I showed the "People" words again and told the students to think of two people, a **me** and a **you**. "I am the **me** in the words, and I can also be the **you**. For there to be **two** in the **we** there must be another. The other is the one whom the **you** is fond of." We also talked about how **they** might be used. "**They** are the other actors. They may be the ones doing the things in your happening. Put actors into your happenings."

Dawn's verse was typical of the rest of the group's work

Us

laughing talking joking

together

touching hugging kissing

fun

loving needing believing

Joy

finding marring keeping

Love

Upon my request to put it into prose: she wrote:

We were laughing joking and talking
together. We were touching, hugging
and kissing. We had fun and we were
loving needing and believing. Joy
to us was finding marring and
keeping. We were in love.

The expansion so far was satisfactory. The students were pleased with the results, and they did not feel threatened by the assignments. I tried easing them into the next step. I told them: "Now that we have the actors, we need the acted upon. That is the one receiving the touching, the needing, and the loving. **It** is the one you are laughing and joking with. Who is the one? The word **who** must be added to **I, we,** and **us. Who** will now take the place of **they.** "With **who** in the story, we need to know **what**.

The results are best demonstrated by John's work. The procedure took him from twenty-four words to fifty-four.

(A) I am dreaming, hopeing, praying

They are playing, feeling, showing

We are hearing, wondering, remembering

We two are Dreaming, hopeing, praying

(B) I am Dreaming for love

I am hoping to live

I am praying to God

They are playing and screaming

They are feeling for love

They are showing their care

We are hearign them

We are wondering about them

We are remembering on them

We to are Dreaming for love

hopeing to live praying to God.

Bill set to work, writing, crumpling, starting over, erasing, and finally he submitted the following. I would have liked to have seen his scraps, but he put them in his pocket and took them with him.

I am wondering if I will ever get out of school

I am hearing that school is almost over

I am doubting

They are feeling the warmnes in the air.

We are exploring that spring is a time for love.

We are loving and laughing

I am dreaming

We are believing

Alan's composition showed much progress. He was more relaxed and seemed to be satisfied with himself.

The are arguing, yelling, they are

mad. but about what? I am

trying to find the answer.

As I see chairs and tables being

thrown through the air, I think

to myself how senseless it is

to fight. Instead of talk it out.

Not only were the three boys writing, they were working diligently at it. Bill and Alan consulted their dictionaries frequently. They sensed their progress. They willngly read their work out loud to the class and received genuine compliments.

Kim, Karen, and Dawn wrote fine compositions also. They did much extra work, writing happenings and turning happenings into "poems". Dawn went so far as to create her own form of happening:

Rainbow's

red, ornge, yellow, green, blew, perple

sun

Bright yellow, red, ornge, happy, hot

Crass

gren, short, long, pritty, fun colorful

flowers

Blosm, nice, Blue, pink, petles, lovly

trees

Big, small, fat, Bushy, green, Brown

sky

Big, Blue, greenish, Buttiful, clody, gray

outside

Valerie would only turn in what she called poetry or happenings. She seemed not to want to risk the prose. Writing about personal relationships, apparently, was disturbing her. Karen had made several unkind remarks about Valerie's appearance. Other school children had done so also. Much of her hurt is expressed in this verse which she wrote instead doing the assignment on "People".

I am

crazy yelling screaming

for help

I am needing

help explaining

why?

Time was running out, and it seemed that the class was ready for the crucial assignment, an extended piece of work on an assigned topic.

Camping

For the final sessions I prepared a list of words on camping. A sheet with the words on them was given to each student, and an acetate print was made for overhead viewing. Some of the words are shown below.

tenting
setting up
popping
thundering
sleeping out
tying
eating
flashing
planning
unpacking
guzzling
pouring
going
gabbing
chatting
snowing

On the copy for the overhead projector, we built words from the process cues in the following manner: "I'll cover the **-ings** of some of the words, and you will see the names of things appear. Watch. Now you see **tent, sleep, plan, pack, chat, thunder,** and **snow.** Take off the **-ings** and put on **-ed**, and you have the past tense of the words as in 'we planned, we gabbed, you chopped, I popped, it thundered, and lightning flashed.' "

We played with some of the possible constructions that are not acceptable words, such as **sleeped, setted up,** and **eated**.

The final preparation was adding **where, when, who, what, why** and **how** to the list.

tenting where? when?
setting up where? who?
gabbing about what?
grumbling why?
thundering how? why?
listening to what? where?
scaring whom? why?
rising what? how?
fishing where? how?

All seven took up pencils and put them to paper. They consulted dictionaries often. When the period ended, Karen, Dawn, Valerie, and Alan handed in their work. Bill, Kim, and John said they had not finished their stories and asked for time to work on them. They promised to produce them the last class session of the year. Bill and Kim kept their promises. John, for a reason he did not divulge, would not let me have what he had done. All final papers are recorded below.

Camping

When I went camping it was on March 13,
1977 We had so much fun and joy that
I didn't want to go home. We stad at
the camping place for 3 days it
was beautiful. Breaking the nice
sweet clear air. And at night chopping
the wood for a finer and eating popcorn.
The joy of camping was the listening
to the birds, crickets, and people and
laughing at jokes. When we were singing
our hearts were to. Then when the
finer got warner and I got tired
but before I went to sleep I was
watching the most beautiful thing
was to rabits playing in the grass
and seeing that I went in to a
deep deep sleep. Good night

The End
by Karen

Camping

I went camping in the summer. I was in Florida. We slept in a tent. We camt for a week. We went boating in the lake. We also went hiking along the lake. There was a swamp by us My unkle said he saw an alagater. We went swimming. At night it was storming my ant came and wolk me and my cousent up and made us sleep in the van. We plad games all day I got a bad sun bern. We went fishing but we threw the fish back. We herd crickets at night. Then we went to my Grandmas.

DAWN

Picnics

Children

screeming laughing playing

Games

lst prize 2nd prize 3rd prize

food

hotdogs hambergs chips

rain

thunder lightning rain

Sun

shining brightly warm

end

people leveing quietly

Boys
unprediclable strange boys
girls
pretty intelagent girls
dates
boys girls date
Breckup

Scarry
crackling rumbling thunder
lightning
flashing thundering crackling
rain
poring flooding rain
crackling
tree falling fell
Dead
Valerie

One summer about 2 years ago me and a friend went camping in the woods. From where we lived the spot we had was about 10 miles away, so we thought we would go sleeping out for a couple of days. Before we went we were planning out the way we would go and where to stay. So at about 6:00 in the morning we were heading out in the woods, with a long and hard walk ahead of us. The going was rough, but we were going to get there about 5:00 that night. After were walking about 6 hours we stoped for lunch. After we were done I figured out we were halt there. So we rested about 5 minutes and started walking again. We got there about 4:30. We got there and chopped fire wood, and got a big fire going and went to bed about 3:00 in the morning. We stayed about another two day's. We would of stayed longer but the weather got bad so we back up and made the big hike home.

Alan

Camping

Camping is a wonderful thing
I like to hear the birds sing.
I like to lie down by a stream.
And let my mind float and dream.
I could walk forever in the woods.
I would like to fly around them If I could.
I like to sleep out there in a tent
And I don't go back until my food is gone
And my money is spent.
As I leave I give the place a grin
Because I know I will be back again.

Bill

Camping

When I go we set up our tent and go unpack. We love to sleep out and hear the sounds of things. We like to go fishing hook our bait and cast out and catch something. I like to go exploring and trailing went exploring we saw and rabbit eating grass and

squarl running up a tree. We go
build a fire. We chop some wood down
and burn it. We sit around and
roast marmorows and hot dogs.
Then we go to bed roll out the sleeping
bags and in the tent and fall a sleep.
the next morning we get up and
eat and watch the dawning coming up.

Kim

Conclusions

Results were very encouraging. In fluency there was an explosion of words. In some cases, the number of words per composition tripled over what had been submitted before. Even Valerie's final composition, while not matching the expected form, is amazing for its length. She was able to put together a story poem in three stanzas.

No important increases in T-units were observed. Alan's last composition showed an increase of 2 words per T-unit compared to work submitted before the study began. Kim, Bill, and Karen showed fractional increases. But in all, there was no change that could be considered substantial. Encouraging was the fact that there were no decreases. There is the possibility that the lists hinder the writers' thoughts and cause a decrease in T-units.

There is ample evidence that the process words serve as cues. Many of the participles became nouns and many others were changed into the past tense. **Popping** cued popcorn. Bill took **floating** and wrote, "And let my mind float and dream"

A change in attitude was most evident, with the exception of one person, John. He wouldn't let me read his last paper. He may have felt that his work could not match Alan's or Bill's.

The length of the papers indicate a change in attitude. To pursue a topic to such degrees requires that self-satisfaction be there. Valerie erased, crossed out, made additions and even rearranged the phrases. Bill did not make a single error in spelling. He carefully edited his work before handing it in.

In one special area there was no change — that of helping each other. I wanted the students to learn to go to each other for help. Exchanging compositions with a peer helps both students. The reader helps the writer by reacting to the content and by catching some of the errors or misstatements. I'm sure that many of the errors of omission would have been caught by a peer reader. The helper benefits from the editor-like experience in having to read critically.

Building self-confidence was the major task of the list. I wanted to see if such an aid would alleviate the panic which writing assignments frequently breed. The words supply a focal point for thinking. A list of fifty such words acts as cues to at least fifty thoughts. The student, upon reviewing the list, senses the wealth of ideas there. Dawn said that with the "camping" words she felt she could just keep on writing and writing.

Composing is a self-creating process. It is the chaining of responses to cues. **Camping** triggers thoughts like **woods, lake, animals, trails, birds,** and a number of actions like **hiking, fishing, cooking.** Any of the stimulated process words triggers more images. If **camping** brings to mind **hiking, hiking** could very well call to mind **climbing. Who, where, how, why, when** cue themselves in, extending the chain.

After one strand of cues has been exhausted, the writer can grasp another thread to ravel. There is also the possibility that the presence of the list helps relieve the anxiety in having to write. The student is comforted by the array of cues.

John, during the last moments of the last class, wrote this for me:

Thanks for all the fun
Thanks for all the help
I thank you for all
The things you have done

And this letter was handed to me:

Dear Dr Drki
Thank you from coming on Tuesday and
Thursdays. I liked talking and writing with
you. You have made me feel better because
now I know I and not Dom Ones
again thank you very much And to
show you I mean it here is a cake
I made from you all by my self
have a nice summer by.
From your Friend
Karen

The cake, like the total experience, was excellent.

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